pain. Let the mother tear her child from her breaſt, and conſign him to the arms of a mercenary dependent; not only does ſhe thus throw away her own beſt happineſs, like a worthleſs weed; but blaſts, in the bud, the ſweet growth of filial and fraternal love, on which alone the other virtues can be ingrafted in the young heart.

After the care of the child's health, which ſhould ſtill be our firſt concern, as being that without which all other labours about him are vain; our next objects in his education, are, to encourage and regulate his corporeal activity; to prompt him inceſſantly to that obſervation and reflection which may ſerve to ſtrengthen and enlarge his underſtanding; to preſerve his feelings and paſſions from receiving any undue bias, or being whetted to extreme irritability; and, to make him maſter of his mother-tongue in all its copiouſneſs, purity, and correctneſs.

Nature continues to make the firſt of theſe ſo much her proper concern, that it is, in moſt inſtances, ſkilfully and ſucceſsfully enough managed. The reſt being left more entirely to us, are ſeldom conducted with attention ſufficiently delicate and judicious. Few are the children who want the uſe of their limbs, in compariſon with thoſe numbers who have their underſtandings clouded, and their hearts perverted by early miſmanagement. Nay, what is very ſurpriſing, the greater number of our young men of fortune and faſhion, after all the ſolicitude which is expreſſed about their education, from the time when they enter the nurſery till they are diſmiſſ'd from the univerſity, come out at laſt into the world, unable to ſpeak their native language with any moderate copiouſneſs of phraſeology, or to write it with any tolerable ſhare of correctneſs.

If theſe things be ſo, either our plans of education, or our execution of them, or perhaps both, muſt be conſiderably faulty. They may be faulty, either after receiving every poſſible improvement, and from the unavoidable imperfection of all human things; or, becauſe they have not yet been carried to the higheſt point of improvement to which it is poſſible to raiſe them.

I rejoice in not being among thoſe who think that every thing which is old, muſt neceſſarily be bad; that old men and old women are good for nothing, but to be huddled into their graves; old books to be conſigned to moths and ſpiders; old laws to be broken or aboliſhed; and old cuſtoms to be laughed at, as abſurd, only becauſe they differ from thoſe which have inſenſibly inſinuated into their room. My prejudices are rather on the ſide of antiquity, than on that of novelty. And yet, I fear, I muſt accuſe our prevalent modes of education of conſiderable defects and blemiſhes, which might eaſily be remedied.

The firſt thing we formally attempt to teach a boy, is, *to read*. Many means have been contrived by the tender and humane, to cheat him into the knowledge of this firſt literary art; almoſt all of them alike ridiculous and abſurd. By others, diſcipline has been uſed, and direct attention required; and, this is ſurely wiſer, when the diſcipline is not ſo ſevere, and the attention ſo fatiguing as to make the taſk much more irkſome than it naturally is. But, unluckily, we teach him to read his native language, as Milton is ſaid to have taught his daughters to read to him Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; burdening him with the ſigns, without attempting, or at leaſt attempting with the care neceſſary to ſucceſs, to connect in his mind the ſigns with the things which they are uſed to ſignify. Hence the boy may, in many inſtances, be, in our eſtimation, a great ſcholar, without knowing more of nature, of life, or of language in its connection with things, than what is abſolutely neceſſary to his exiſtence and his amuſements. We counteract the wiſe œconomy of Nature, who calls his attention much more to things, than to the ſigns, which, for human convenience, are employed to repreſent them; and whenever we deſpiſe the ſuggeſtions of nature, we always ſuffer for our preſumption.

The books which are firſt put into childrens hands neceſſarily abound in abſtract terms and phraſes. But, their minds, although wonderfully active in abſtraction, never enter readily into our abſtract ideas. Their general notions muſt be formed by themſelves. We have often ſeen boys diſplay great acuteneſs in their ſports, and in matters of common life, who yet proved egregiouſly dull, when called to acquire the rules of grammar, or the elements of any other ſcience. No man becomes a delicately correct writer, merely in conſequence of ſtudying the principles of grammar. Skill in the rules of rhetoric is not found to create eloquence. Yet

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we act, as if the human mind were in these instances subject to different laws, when in the first stages of education, we neglect to urge the growing faculties to put forth their own energy; when we impel, rather than lead; when we pour upon the young understanding our abstract ideas, instead of assisting it to gather in, by itself, a stock of particular facts, and to arrange these in its own way, as it acquires them.

When I say thus much, I mean not to profess myself a convert to all the doctrines advanced on the subject of education, by the amiable, but whimsical and romantic, Rousseau. Children are undoubtedly capable of moral distinctions, as soon as they can discern between obedience and disobedience. They begin early to reason, and reason much before they can communicate the results of their reasonings to us. They become also, in some measure, capable of religious ideas, soon after their moral powers have begun to exert themselves. My objections to our common modes of education consist in this solely, that they burthen with the language of abstract ideas, before it can be comprehended; give too little exercise to the inventive powers of the mind; and withdrawing attention from those things upon which it seems to be directed by nature, lead it where it cannot be profitably employed.

To propose that the use of books should be delayed to a later period than that at which they are commonly put into children's hands, were folly. And it were equally vain, to expect that books of a much simpler character than those now used in the first parts of education, could be formed for their use. It is in the First Exercises required of them, that I would rather propose a change. And here, I think, a material and happy change might without great difficulty be made. The first exercises we require, are usually corrections of examples of false spelling and grammar, versions from one language into another, perhaps a letter imitating real friendship or business, a declamation, or a copy of verses.

Instead of these, and sooner too than any of these can, with propriety, be required, I would recommend exercises of what I think a more profitable and a less unpleasing nature. A child who has acquired a little language will often surprise us with a more accurate and particularly descriptive account of any natural objects he has observed, than we should have expected even from many grown up persons. Such a fact as this seems to suggest, at once, the exercises which may, with the best judgement, be required. As soon as a boy has learned to articulate distinctly, begin to ask of him frequent little descriptions of the simplest visible objects which he has opportunities to observe. These he will give, perhaps imperfectly enough at first; but, if you manage with any tolerable degree of prudence, it can hardly be very unwillingly. Repeat the exercise, without directing it upon more complex objects, or troubling him with much correction or reprehension, till he performs it with considerable ease and accuracy. When this is obtained, you may carry him a step higher. If you asked him, at first, to describe a tree, a flower, an animal, or some inanimate body; you may next bid him remark for description something more complex in its nature, and requiring more careful attention and higher efforts of abstraction, to consider and describe it in all its parts. A field, a herd of animals, a human being busied in some train of action, will perhaps be the most suitable objects that can now be suggested to his attention. As the pupil continues to amuse you and himself with these exercises, he will gradually learn to observe things that pass under his eye with more attentive care; he will acquire a quickness of remark, and a dexterity in the use of language, such as you could not possibly form him to by different arts. In the mean time, I suppose the usual introductory parts of his education to be carried assiduously on. He has by this time learned to write; and you will now reasonably require him to give you written, instead of oral descriptions of the objects which he observes. You will continue to direct his attention more and more, as he advances, to the minuter proprieties of language. And, every new series of objects or varied aspect of the same objects, which he attempts to describe, will still give him new copiousness of phraseology. These exercises will promote the rapid acquisition of real knowledge. As this is gained, they may be gradually extended and diversified, till they shall, at last, rise to compositions fit for registering and communicating knowledge in all its various forms, and for every different purpose.

Surely, if exercises of this nature were received into our system of education, and admitted to hold a much more consi-

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derable part in it than the preſent exerciſes, they might contribute eſſentially to render our youth more hopeful. A young man accuſtomed to them could not well fail to poſſeſs much more knowledge, firmer ſtrength of underſtanding, greater activity of invention, and infinitely more copiouſneſs, energy, correctneſs, and elegance of language, than are to be otherwiſe acquired. This ſeems one of the moſt rational of Rouſſeau's ideas, altered and improved to practicability. In a domeſtic courſe of education at leaſt, theſe exerciſes may be eaſily exacted. At a country-ſchool, too, they might be conveniently required. Nor can I help thinking, that at large eſtabliſhments of inſtruction, and even in great towns, they might, with a little pains, carefully employed, be procured, inſtead of the leſs uſeful and more irkſome taſks which the ſcholars in ſuch ſeminaries perform at preſent, commonly with much unprofitable drudgery, and with little real improvement.

Still, however, experience muſt decide in all caſes of this nature. Not the plauſible conceits of fancy, but principles which have been approved by long and repeated trials, are to be received in matters of ſuch extreme delicacy and high importance, as the education of youth. It is a moſt beautiful part in the œconomy of human nature, that, in reſpect to Change and Permanency, the character of man is held in equipoiſe by two oppoſite biaſes. We have, at the ſame time, a diſpoſition to innovate, and a fondneſs for what is already eſtabliſhed. No ſooner does the one of theſe principles appear to move any part of a community with extraordinary activity, on this or that occaſion, than the other ſtarts forth to meet it, with repulſive force. An alteration or improvement is hardly ever propoſed, but ſome pertinacious advocate of the circumſtance to be altered or improved, ſtands forward to maintain its excellence. Thoſe who cannot think or reaſon, can at leaſt laugh and aſſert. Thus, indeed, are folly and abſurdity often encouraged and confirmed in places which they ought not to hold: but thus, too, are folly and abſurdity often checked and reſtrained from ſtepping into places which their unbluſhing preſumption would otherwiſe prompt them to occupy.—I may therefore pleaſe myſelf with the perſuaſion, that this little fancy of mine concerning a change in the exerciſes to be preſcribed in the education of youth, is not likely to be adopted, (eſpecially as it comes recommended by no authority of character or of fortune), if the principles upon which it is founded can be ſhown to be falſe, or if it affords ever a point on which to fix the garland of ridicule.

I am conſcious, however, of offering it with the pureſt intentions,—not of calling the public to ſtare at a novelty, which, indeed, is too minute to draw their notice, while there remain ſights of wonder to be ſeen, and ſounds of enchantment to be heard; nor of oppoſing received ideas, merely becauſe they are received, and have been ſanctioned by venerable authority; but, of alleviating, in ſome ſmall degree at leaſt, the ills, and improving the advantages of thoſe little children whom the Saviour of the World was ſo earneſt to protect from the inſolent contempt and abuſe of men, whom he tenderly invited to come to him, and concerning whom he declared, in words of grace and mercy, that *of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Precautions to be uſed by thoſe who are about to undertake a Sea-Voyage.

[By Dr Franklin.]

WHEN you intend to take a long voyage, nothing is better than to keep it a ſecret, as much as poſſible, till the moment of your departure. Without this, you will be continually interrupted and tormented by viſits from friends and acquaintances, who not only make you loſe your valuable time, but make you forget a thouſand things which you wiſh to remember; ſo that when you are embarked and fairly at ſea, you recollect with much uneaſineſs affairs which you have not terminated, accounts that you have not ſettled, and a number of things which you propoſed to carry with you, and which you find the want of every moment. Would it not be attended with the beſt conſequences to reform ſuch a cuſtom, and to ſuffer a traveller, without deranging him, to make his preparations in quietneſs, to ſet apart a few days, when theſe are finiſhed, to take leave of his friends, and to receive their good wiſhes for his happy return?

It is not always in one's power to chooſe a Captain, though great part of the pleaſure and happineſs of the paſſage depends upon this choice, and though one muſt for a long time be confined to his company, and be in ſome meaſure under his command. If he is a ſocial ſenſible man,

man, obliging, and of a good diſpoſition, you will be ſo much the happier. One ſometimes meets with people of this deſcription, but they are not common. However, if your's be not of this number, if he be a good ſeaman, attentive, careful, and active in the management of his veſſel, you muſt diſpenſe with the reſt, for theſe are the moſt eſſential qualities.

Whatever right you may have by your agreement with him to the proviſions which he has taken on board for the uſe of the paſſengers, it is always proper to have ſome private ſtore, which you may make uſe of occaſionally. You ought, therefore, to provide good water, that of the ſhip being often bad; but you muſt put it into bottles, without which you cannot expect to preſerve it ſweet. You ought alſo to carry with you good tea, ground coffee, chocolate, wine of that ſort which you like beſt, cyder, dried raiſins, almonds, ſugar, capillaire, citrons, rum, eggs dipped in oil, portable ſoup, bread twice baked *. With regard to poultry, it is almoſt uſeleſs to carry any with you, unleſs you reſolve to undertake the office of feeding and fattening them yourſelf. With the little care that is taken of them on board ſhip, they are almoſt all ſickly, and their fleſh is as tough as leather.

All ſailors entertain an opinion, which has undoubtedly originated formerly from a want of water, and when it has been found neceſſary to ſpare it, that poultry never know when they have drank enough, and that when water is given them at diſcretion, they generally kill themſelves by drinking beyond meaſure. In conſequence of this opinion, they give them water only once in two days, and even then in ſmall quantities; but as they pour this water into troughs inclining to one ſide, which occaſions it to run to the lower part, it thence happens, that they are obliged to mount one upon the back of another, in order to reach it, and there are ſome which cannot even dip their beaks in it. Thus continually tantalized and tormented by thirſt, they are unable to digeſt their food, which is very dry, and they ſoon fall ſick and die; ſome of them are found thus every morning, and are thrown into the ſea; whilſt thoſe which are killed for the table are ſcarcely fit to be eaten. To remedy this inconvenience it will be neceſſary to divide their troughs into ſmall compartments, in ſuch a manner that each of them may be capable of containing water; but this is ſeldom or never done. On this account, ſheep and hogs are to be conſidered as the beſt freſh proviſions that one can have at ſea; mutton there being in general very good, and pork excellent.

It may happen that ſome of the proviſions and ſtores which I have recommended may become almoſt uſeleſs, by the care which the Captain has taken to lay in a proper ſtock; but in ſuch a caſe, you may diſpoſe of it to relieve the poor paſſengers, who, paying leſs for their paſſage, are ſtowed among the common ſailors, and have no right to the Captain's proviſions, except to ſuch part of them as is uſed for feeding the crew. Theſe paſſengers are ſometimes ſick, melancholy, and dejected, and there are often women and children among them, neither of whom have any opportunity of procuring thoſe things which I have mentioned, and of which, perhaps, they have the greateſt need. By diſtributing amongſt them a part of your ſuperfluity, you may be of the greateſt aſſiſtance to them. You may reſtore their health, ſave their lives, and in ſhort render them happy, which always affords the livelieſt pleaſure to a feeling mind.

The moſt diſagreeable thing at ſea is the cookery, for there is not, properly ſpeaking, any profeſſed cook on board. The worſt ſailor is generally choſen for that purpoſe, who for the moſt part is equally dirty and unſkilful; hence comes the proverb uſed among the Engliſh ſailors, that "God ſends meat, and the devil ſends cooks." Thoſe, however, who have a better opinion of Providence will think otherwiſe. Knowing that ſea air, and the exerciſe or motion which they receive from the rolling of the ſhip, have wonderful effect in whetting the appetite, they will ſay, that Providence has given ſailors bad cooks, to prevent them from eating too much; or, that knowing they would have bad cooks he has given them a good appetite, to prevent them from dying with hunger. However, if you have no confidence in theſe ſuccours of Providence, you may yourſelf, with a lamp and a boiler, by the help of a little ſpirits of wine, prepare ſome food, ſuch as ſoup, haſh, &c. A ſmall oven made of tin plate is not a bad piece of furniture; your ſervant may roaſt in it a piece of mutton or pork. If you are ever tempted to eat ſalt beef,

* In French *pain biſcuite*. It is made by cutting bread into ſlices and baking it a ſecond time; it forms moſt wholeſome nouriſhment.

beef, which is often very good, you will find that cyder is the beſt liquor to quench the thirſt generally cauſed by ſalt meat or ſalt fiſh. Sea-biſcuit, which is too hard for the teeth of ſome people, may be ſoftened by ſteeping it; but bread double baked * is the beſt, for, being made of good loaf-bread cut into ſlices, and baked a ſecond time, it readily imbibes water, becomes ſoft, and is eaſily digeſted: it conſequently forms excellent nouriſhment, much ſuperior to that of biſcuit, which has not been fermented.

I muſt here obſerve, that this double-baked bread was originally the real biſcuit prepared to keep at ſea; for the word *biſcuit* in French ſignifies twice baked †. Peaſe often boil badly, and do not become ſoft; in ſuch a caſe, by putting a two-pound ſhot into the kettle, the rolling of the veſſel by means of this bullet, will convert the peaſe into a kind of porridge like muſtard.

Having often ſeen ſoup, when put upon the table at ſea in broad flat diſhes, thrown out on every ſide by the rolling of the veſſel, I have wiſhed that our tin men would make our ſoup-baſons with diviſions or compartments, forming ſmall plates, proper for containing ſoup for one perſon only. By this diſpoſition the ſoup in an extraordinary roll would not be thrown out of the plate, and would not fall into the breaſts of thoſe who are at table, and ſcald them. Having entertained you with theſe things of little importance, permit me now to conclude with ſome general reflections upon navigation.

When navigation is employed only for tranſporting neceſſary proviſions from one country where they abound to another where they are wanting, when by this it prevents famines, which were ſo frequent and ſo fatal before it was invented, and became ſo common, we cannot help conſidering it as one of thoſe arts which contribute moſt to the happineſs of mankind.

But when it is employed to tranſport things of no utility, or articles merely of luxury, it is then uncertain whether the advantages reſulting from it are ſufficient to counterbalance the misfortunes which it occaſions, by expoſing the lives of ſo many individuals upon the vaſt ocean. And when it is uſed to plunder veſſels and tranſport ſlaves, it is evidently only the dreadful means of increaſing thoſe calamities which afflict human nature.

One is aſtoniſhed to think on the number of veſſels and men who are daily expoſed in going to bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and ſugar and tobacco from America; all commodities which our anceſtors lived very well without. The ſugar trade employs nearly a thouſand veſſels, and that of tobacco almoſt the ſame number. With regard to the utility of tobacco little can be ſaid; and with regard to ſugar, how much more meritorious would it be, to ſacrifice the momentary pleaſure which we receive from drinking it once or twice a-day in our tea, than to encourage the numberleſs cruelties that are continually exerciſed in order to procure it to us!

A celebrated French moraliſt ſaid, that when he conſidered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number who of courſe periſh in theſe wars, the multitude of thoſe wretches who die in their paſſage, by diſeaſe, bad air, and bad proviſions, and laſtly, how many periſh by the cruel treatment they meet with in a ſtate of ſlavery, when he ſaw a bit of ſugar he could not help imagining it to be covered with ſpots of human blood; but had he added to theſe conſiderations, the wars which we carry on againſt one another to take and retake the iſlands that produce this commodity, he would not have ſeen the ſugar ſimply ſpotted with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

Theſe wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London, pay much dearer for their ſugar than thoſe of Vienna, though they are almoſt three hundred leagues diſtant from the ſea. A pound of ſugar, indeed, coſts the former not only the price which they give for it, but alſo what they pay in taxes neceſſary to ſupport thoſe fleets and armies which ſerve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.

Account of the total of Capital Stock redeemed by the Commiſſioners for the reduction of the National Debt on the 1ſt of November 1792.

	£.
Conſols 3 per Cent.	3,487,605
Reduced ditto	2,971,600
Old South Sea	1,667,400
New South Sea	1,288,800
South Sea 1757	396,400
	9,811,805

An

* Pain biſcuite.

† It is derived from *bis*, again, and *cuit*, baked.

Comparative Statement of the Produce, Rent, and Price of Land in France and England. (From Young's Travels.)

THE average price of all the cultivated land in the kingdom of France is, per Engliſh acre, 20l.

The rent of ſuch part as is let is 15s. 7d.

The average produce of wheat and rye is 18 buſhels.

The ſeed yields return 6 for 1.

Land pays per cent. 33¾.

In reſpect to England, may be remarked, in the firſt place, a very ſingular circumſtance, which is the near approximation of the two kingdoms in the two articles of price and rent. The rent of cultivated land in England, excluſive of ſheep-walks, warrens, and waſtes, if it could be known accurately, would be probably found not much to exceed 15s. 7d. per acre; at leaſt I am inclined to think ſo, for ſeveral reaſons, too complex to give here. I have indeed none for fixing on that exact ſum; but I ſhould calculate it ſomewhere between 15s. and 16s. Now 15s. 7d. at twenty-ſix years purchaſe, which I take to be the preſent average price of land in this kingdom, (1790 and 1791,) is 20l. 5s. 2d. The two kingdoms, are, therefore, on a foot of equality in this reſpect. The intereſt paid by land 3¾ in France, is higher than in England, where it cannot be calculated at more than three, perhaps not more than 2¾. If it be thought extraordinary, that land ſhould ſell for as high a price in France as in England, there are not wanted circumſtances to explain the reaſon. In the firſt place, the neat profit received from eſtates is greater. There are no poor-rates in that kingdom; and tithes were much more moderately exacted, as it has been obſerved above. Repairs, which form a conſiderable deduction with us, are a very trifling one with them. But what operates as much, or perhaps more than theſe circumſtances, is the number of ſmall properties. I have touched ſeveral times on this point in the courſe of the notes, and its influence pervades every part of the kingdom; all the ſavings which are made by the lower claſſes in France, are inveſted in land; but this practice is ſcarcely known in England, where ſuch ſavings are uſually lent on bond or mortgage, or inveſted in the public funds. This cauſes a competition for land in France, which, very fortunately for the proſperity of our agriculture, does not obtain here.

As to the next article, namely, the average produce of corn land, the difference will be found very great indeed; for in England, the average produce of wheat and rye (nineteen-twentieths the former) is twenty-four buſhels, which form a vaſt ſuperiority to eighteen, the produce of France; amounting to twelve for one of the ſeed, inſtead of five for one. But the ſuperiority is greater than is apparent in the proportion of thoſe two numbers; for the corn of England, as far as reſpects dreſſing, that is cleaning from dirt, chaff, ſeeds of weeds, &c. is as much better than that of France, as would make the difference at leaſt twenty-five (inſtead of twenty-four) to eighteen; and I am inclined to think even more. There is not a plank threſhing floor in France; and no miller can grind corn as he receives it from the farmer, without further cleaning. Another point, yet more important, is, that Engliſh wheat, in much the greater part of our kingdom, ſucceeds other preparatory crops; whereas the wheat of France follows almoſt univerſally a dead fallow, on which is ſpread all the dung of the farm. A circumſtance which ought to give a conſiderable ſuperiority to the French crops, is that of climate, which in France is abundantly better for this production than in England; and, what is ſtill of greater moment, the ſpring corn of France, compared with that of England, is abſolutely contemptible, and indeed unworthy of any idea of compariſon. While, therefore, in France, the wheat and rye are relied on for the almoſt total ſupport of the farm and farmer, reaſon tells us, that the wheat ought to be much ſuperior to the produce of a country in which it does not bear an equally important part. Laſtly, let me obſerve, that the ſoil of France is, for the moſt part, better than that of England. Under theſe various circumſtances, for the average produce of the former to be ſo much inferior, is truly remarkable. But eighteen buſhels of wheat and rye, and miſerable ſpring corn, afford as high a rent in France, as twenty-four in England, with the addition of our excellent ſpring corn: this forms a ſtriking contraſt, and leads to the explanation of the difference. It ariſes very much from the poverty of the French tenantry; for the political inſtitutions and ſpirit of the go-

vernment having, for a long ſeries of ages, tended ſtrongly to depreſs the lower claſſes, and favour the higher ones, the farmers in the greater part of France are blended with the peaſantry; and, in point of wealth, are hardly ſuperior to the common labourers; theſe poor farmers are metayers, who find nothing towards ſtocking a farm but labour and implements; and being extremely miſerable, there is rarely a ſufficiency of the latter. The landlord is better able to provide the live ſtock; but, engaged in a diſſipated ſcene of life, probably at a diſtance from the farm, and being poor, like country gentlemen in many other parts of Europe, he ſtocks the farm not one penny beyond the moſt preſſing neceſſity:—from which ſyſtem a wretched produce muſt unavoidably reſult. That the tenantry ſhould generally be poor, will not be thought ſtrange, when the taxes laid upon them are conſidered; their tailles and capitation are heavy in themſelves; and the weight being increaſed by being laid arbitrarily, proſperity and good management are little more than ſignals for a higher aſſeſſment. Under ſuch a ſyſtem, a wealthy tenantry, on a rable land, can hardly ariſe. With thoſe farmers, and this management, it is not much to be wondered at, that the land yields no more than eighteen buſhels. Such a tenantry, contributing ſo little beyond the labour of their hand, are much more at the landlord's mercy than would be the caſe of wealthier farmers, who, poſſeſſing a capital proper for their undertakings, are not content with a profit leſs than ſufficient to return them a due intereſt for their money; and the conſequence is, that the proprietor cannot have ſo high a rent as he has from metayers, who, poſſeſſing nothing, are content merely to live. Thus, in the diviſion of the groſs produce, the landlord in France gets half; but in England, in the ſhape of rent only, from a fourth to a tenth; commonly from a fourth to a ſixth. On ſome lands he gets a third, but that is uncommon. Nothing can be ſimpler than the principles upon which this is founded. The Engliſh tenant muſt not only be able to ſupport himſelf and his family, but muſt be paid for his capital alſo,—upon which the future produce of the farm depends, as much as on the land itſelf.

The importance of a country producing twenty-five buſhels per acre inſtead of eighteen, is prodigious; but it is an idle deception to ſpeak of twenty-five, for the ſuperiority of Engliſh ſpring-corn (barley and oats) is doubly greater than that of wheat and rye, and would juſtify me in proportioning the corn products of England, in general, compared with thoſe of France, as twenty eight to eighteen; and I am well perſuaded that ſuch a ratio would be no exaggeration. Ten millions of acres produce more corn than fifteen millions; conſequently a territory of one hundred millions of acres more than equals another of one hundred and fifty millions. It is from ſuch facts that we muſt ſeek for an explanation of the power of England, which has ventured to meaſure itſelf with that of a country ſo much more populous, extenſive, and more favoured by nature as France really is; and it is a leſſon to all governors whatever, that if they would be powerful, they muſt encourage the only real and permanent baſis of power, *agriculture*. By enlarging the quantity of the products of land in a nation, all thoſe advantages flow which have been attributed to a great population, but which ought, with much more truth, to have been aſſigned to a great conſumption; ſince it is not the mere number of people, but their eaſe and welfare, which conſtitute national proſperity. The difference between the corn products of France and England is ſo great, that it would juſtify ſome degree of ſurpriſe, how any political writer could ever expreſs any degree of amazement, that a territory naturally ſo inconſiderable as the Britiſh iſles, on compariſon with France, ſhould ever become equally powerful; yet this ſentiment, founded in mere ignorance, has been very common. With ſuch an immenſe ſuperiority in the produce of corn, the more obvious ſurpriſe ſhould have been, that the reſources of England, compared with thoſe of France, were not yet more deciſive. But it is to be obſerved, that there are other articles of culture to which recourſe muſt be had for an explanation; vines are an immenſe object in the cultivation of the latter kingdom, and yield all the advantages, and even ſuperior ones to thoſe afforded by the aſſiduous culture of corn in England. Maiz is alſo an article of great conſequence in the French huſbandry; olives, ſilk, and lucerne are not to be forgotten; nor ſhould we omit mentioning the fine

paſtures

pastures of Normandy, and every article of culture in the rich acquisitions of Flanders, Alsace, and part of Artois, as well as on the banks of the Garonne. In all this extent, and it is not small. France possesses a husbandry equal to our own; and it is from well seconding the fertility of nature in these districts, and from a proper attention to the plants adapted to the soil, that there has arisen any equality in the resources of the two kingdoms; for, without this, France, with all the ample advantages she otherwise derives from nature, would be but a petty power on comparison with Great Britain. In order the better to understand how the great difference of product between the French and English crops may affect the agriculture of the two kingdoms, it will be proper to observe, that the farmer in England will reap as much from his course of crops, in which wheat and rye occur but seldom, as the Frenchman can from his, in which they return often.

An English Course.		A French Course.	
1 Turnips,		1 Fallow,	
2 Barley,		2 Wheat, -	18
3 Clover,		3 Barley, or oats,	
4 Wheat,	25	4 Fallow,	
5 Turnips,		5 Wheat, -	18
6 Barley,		6 Barley, or oats,	
7 Clover,		7 Fallow,	
8 Wheat,	25	8 Wheat, -	18
9 Tares, or beans,		9 Barley, or oats,	
10 Wheat,	25	10 Fallow,	
11 Turnips,		11 Wheat -	18
	75		72

The Englishman, in eleven years, gets three bushels more of wheat than the Frenchman. He gets three crops of barley, tares, or beans, which produce nearly twice as many bushels per acre as what the three French crops of spring corn produce. And he farther gets, at the same time, three crops of turnips and two of clover, the turnips worth 40 s. the acre, and the clover 60 s. that is 12 l. for both. What an enormous superiority? More wheat; almost double of the spring corn; and above 20 s. per acre per annum in turnips and clover. But farther; the Englishman's land, by means of the manure arising from the consumption of the turnips and clover, is in a constant state of improvement, while the Frenchman's farm is stationary. Throw the whole into a cash-account, and it will stand thus:—

English System.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 75 bushels, at 5 s.	18	15	0
Spring corn three crops, at 32 bushels, 96 bushels, at 2 s. 6 d. - - -	12	0	0
Clover two crops, -	6	0	0
	36	15	0
Per acre per annum, -	3	6	10

French System.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 72 bushels, at 5 s.	18	0	0
Spring corn three crops, at 20 bushels, 60 bushels, at 2 s. 6 d. - -	7	10	0
	25	10	0
Per acre per annum, -	2	6	4

In allowing the French system to produce twenty bushels of spring corn, while I assign thirty-two only to the English, I am confident that I favour the former considerably; for I believe the English produce is the double of that of France: but stating it as above, here are the proportions of thirty-six on an improving farm to twenty-five on a stationary one; that is to say, a country containing 82,000,000 acres produces as much as another, whose area contains 119,000,000, which are in the same ratio as thirty-six and twenty-five.

STATE PAPERS.

Counter Declaration of the Court of Vienna, dated July 5. 1792.

THE result confirms what the court of Vienna has foreseen and foreboded, that those who actually reign in France, being willing first to provoke the nation to arm, and then to a rupture with the late Emperor, after having availed themselves of the assemblies in the states of Treves for pretences for the first mentioned, sought pretences for a war in the answers which they compelled his Imperial Majesty to give. It was in vain that the Court of Vienna attempted to divert the effects of their inimical views, by unmasking, through repeated elucidations, the unlawfulness of all these accounts which successively followed one another in proportion as their deceitfulness was detected. These very pretences, these very endeavours of the court of Vienna for preventing a rupture, are alledged

ledged as motives for the war which is declared againſt the King of Hungary and Bohemia in the name of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the French nation.

The firſt of theſe motives is *the public protection granted to the French emigrants.* When this protection was alledged, in order to give an appearance to the preparations of France in December laſt, it was only inſomuch as it extended to ſome ſtates of the empire having given protection to the armed aſſemblies of the emigrants; and far from attributing theſe grievances to the court of Vienna, its conduct had acquired, in this reſpect, public thanks on the part of the French government. The preſent change of a motive for thanks into a motive for an attack, offers ſo great a contraſt, that it ſaves the trouble of making any further obſervations.

The court of Vienna even uſed its beſt endeavours for cauſing the other German princes, neighbours of France, to adopt a ſimilar behaviour. By this means, the apparent motives of its menacing preparations diſappeared. In order to continue them, a freſh pretence of grievance and reproach was required. It was found in the exiſtence of a concert between the late Emperor and ſeveral powers, *for maintaining the public tranquillity and honour of the crowns.*

The real circumſtances of that concert were completely known to all Europe. All the world knew that it was cauſed through the violences offered to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, followed by the impriſonment of that monarch: that, on the firſt hopes of his having recovered the eſſential degree of liberty, ſafety, and command, which is requiſite for putting the ſeal of legality on the conſtitutional laws of a monarchical ſtate, the ſaid concert, from an active one, ſuch as it was, through the repreſentation of the court of Vienna, changed into a paſſive one, which was no longer to be put into activity by meaſures, unleſs France ſhould fall again into the ſame ſtate of diſorder and popular violence, which, according to the notions of all ſtates from time immemorial, repreſent a ſtate of anarchy. The moderation of the powers that formed this concert was thus conformable to the equity of their principles. The moſt ſimple ideas of a monarchical government entitled them to an union for aſſiſting the lawful King of France, and ſecuring from its utter ruin a form of government, whoſe baſis being acknowledged and confirmed as inviolable by the new conſtitution itſelf, could not be hurt without the event of a manifeſt inſurrection taking place.

On the other hand, theſe powers were obliged, for their own ſafety, to oppoſe the introduction of a ſyſtem of anarchy, to propagate the pernicious principles of which, in all the ſtates of Europe, the moſt dangerous means were then employing. In ſhort, the maintenance of public tranquillity required their eventual union, in caſe one or other of them ſhould be attacked, and it was chiefly relative to theſe laſt motives of the concert of powers, that the court of Vienna, being attentive with good reaſon to the French warlike preparations and threats of an invaſion, thought proper to remind France of the exiſtence of ſuch concert, in order to exhort it not to provoke all the ſovereign foreign princes, by violences againſt one or the other of them.

Nothing, therefore, is plainer, than the injuſtice of the reproach of attacking the independency and ſafety of the French nation; whereby this concert of the moſt conſiderable powers of Europe was injured, and which they do not fear of producing anew, although the very ſhade of miſunderſtanding and error concerning the nature of this concert has been diſperſed by the declarations of the court of Vienna. It mentioned in it the very terms of the remonſtrances which were determined by its actual opening in the month of July 1791, and the eventual adjournment till the month of November following.

From this it appeared in the moſt convincing manner, that it merely depended on thoſe who at preſent reign over France, to make this concert ceaſe immediately, by reſpecting the tranquillity and the rights of other powers, and to guarantee the eſſential baſis of the French monarchical form of government againſt the infringements of violence and anarchy. Every cauſe of uneaſineſs would have ceaſed if ſuch diſpoſitions had prevailed in France; and the whole conduct of the court of Vienna, far from juſtifying any blame of its views, would have evinced its ingenuouſneſs and moderation.

Upon the invitation of the French miniſtry, it had entirely withdrawn from the ſaid declaration the claims of the German Princes having dominions in Alſace. And if the deceaſed ſovereign of Auſtria was unable to avoid fulfilling his duties as Emperor in this reſpect, nothing in the world ſhowed that he ſhould prevent any conciliatory method which was indeed ſufficient and compatible with the conſtitution of the empire on objects in which Auſtria never was concerned itſelf in a direct manner, and for which reaſon it is the more unjuſt actually to draw from this a particular motive for a war againſt her; whereas her preſent ſovereign has no greater concern in it than the other members of the Germanic body.

On the other hand, the court of Vienna has given the cleareſt proofs of the good faith of its diſpoſitions, by refraining from accompanying its declarations by armaments adequate to the greatneſs of thoſe that France ſupported her queſtions withal; whilſt the latter power aſſembled 150,000 men on the

frontiers

frontiers of the Low Countries and Germany, the court of Vienna did not ſend a battalion more to its Belgian troops, whoſe reinforcements ever ſince 1790 have generally not exceeded 3 or 4000 men. All its meaſures were confined to augment its anterior Auſtrian troops with 4000 men, who by this reinforcement were carried to 10,000 men; and it was not till after the 14th of April that diſpoſitions were made for ſending more troops, when the offenſive interpretation which the well-meaning declarations of the court of Vienna met with, and the events which ſoon after happened in France, left no more doubt of the ſpeedy exploſion of an attack.

The propoſal reciprocally to diſarm, delivered on the 11th of March by the French ambaſſador at Vienna, at a time when France alone had armed for a war, accompanied with a demand of quitting the concert of powers in a moment when the poſition of that kingdom daily gave more and more uneaſineſs, could not in any reſpect be conſidered otherwiſe than as an ultimate pretence for engaging the French nation in this attack, to which all the preceding ſteps had led, and the execution of which happened almoſt at the ſame period when the ambaſſador delivered the declaration of war.

Thus none of the grievances accumulated in the French declaration of war, without a ſingle proof, has the leaſt appearance of foundation and good faith, and of which the nullity was not already proved, except indeed the new grievance which is added to it as an overplus of injuſtice, by upbraiding the court of Vienna with the hopes it had entertained that the reaſon, the honour, and equity of the more ſound and greater part of the nation would ultimately triumph, and the pains the court of Vienna had taken to diſpel prejudices unjuſtly excited concerning the nature of the concert.

The complaints alledged againſt the court of Vienna not only do not furniſh the ſmalleſt apparent motive for an attack, but it is evident that they are ſo many objects of provocation and aggreſſion committed by thoſe who reign in France.

They preſume to blame the court of Vienna for the protection it has refuſed at home, and cauſed to be denied elſewhere, to the enterpriſes and affairs of the French emigrants; they who did protect and foment the conſpiracies or a rebellion in the Auſtrian Netherlands. Their confeſſions and public meaſures ſince the attack prove, that in the hope of ſucceeding in theſe treacherous actions, and practices of the ſame kind, tending to ſeduce the faithful Auſtrian troops, their chief confidence was placed.

It is they who excited a diſpute between France and the German Empire, by depriving ſeveral German Princes of rights and enjoyments aſſured by a poſſeſſion of a century and a half, grounded on ſolemn treaties. Their excuſe againſt the obligatory force of theſe treaties, derived from a pretended inconſiſtency with later and ſpontaneous laws of one of the contracting parties, is grounded on a principle that overthrows all treaties. And that decree of the 14th of January, by which the National Aſſembly, ſetting up at the ſame time for judge and party, has aſſumed the power of paſſing an arbitrary ſentence on the manner and ſufficiency of a diſpoſition which ought to be free among independent ſtates, is nothing elſe but one more attempt on the public right of nations.

They who for ſix months were occupied in making preparations for war and attack on the frontiers of the Auſtrian Netherlands and Germany, complain of the very moderate precaution of the court of Vienna for the ſafety of provinces that are upwards of 200 leagues diſtant from the centre of its dominions.

They pretend that the ſovereignty of the French nation is injured by the eſtabliſhment of a concert, whoſe firſt view has been to ſave the only lawful ſovereign of France; whilſt they, in the mean while, daily attack and provoke all the ſovereigns of Europe in the moſt inconſiderate manner, and with the bitterеſt invectives. In ſhort, they diſpute with the crowns the participation and the right of interfering in, or being concerned about the conſequences of their new conſtitution, whilſt they, with all their might, endeavour to ſubvert all governments, by ſpreading all over Europe the bane of ſeduction and inſurrection.

The King of Hungary and Bohemia is thus entitled to call in the ſupport of all Europe, in a cauſe that concerns the honour and ſafety of all governments, and he arraigns the abettors of ſo unjuſt and heinous an attack before the tribunal of the univerſe and poſterity, as being anſwerable for all the evils that are the unavoidable conſequences of war.

Manifeſto of their Majeſties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Pruſſia againſt the French Revolution.

THEIR Majeſties the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, in commencing a war, occaſioned by the moſt unjuſt and moſt deſpotic aggreſſion, and rendered neceſſary by the moſt imperious circumſtances, have ſucceſſively and ſeparately publiſhed the particular motives of their conduct. Animated, however, by a regard for the ſacred intereſts of humanity, their Imperial and Royal Majeſties, thinking it not ſufficient to have communicated to the different courts of Europe the circumſtances which oblige them to have recourſe to arms, conſider it as of importance to their glory, and the happineſs of their faithful ſubjects, to enlighten all nations reſpecting the cauſes and effects of the late de-

plorable

plorable Revolution in France; and, in a Manifeſto, to lay open to the preſent generation, as well as to poſterity, their motives, their intentions, and the diſintereſtedneſs of their perſonal views.

Taking up arms for the purpoſe of maintaining ſocial and political order among all poliſhed nations, and to ſecure to each ſtate its religion, happineſs, independence, territories, and real conſtitution, it is to be preſumed the uſe which their Imperial and Royal Majeſties are about to make, for the general ſafety of the forces committed by Providence to their diſpoſal, will conſole mankind, if poſſible, for the evils to which war has already expoſed them, and for that blood which the diſturbers of public tranquillity may yet cauſe to be ſhed. In this hope, their Majeſties have not heſitated to give to all nations, and to all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient diviſions, and their private concerns, that they may attend only to the public good, in a criſis ſo important, of which no inſtance is to be found in hiſtory. They think, and with juſtice, that, on this occaſion, all empires and all ſtates ought to be unanimous, and that all ſovereigns, becoming the firm guardians of the happineſs of mankind, cannot fail to unite their efforts, in order to reſcue a numerous nation from its own fury; to preſerve Europe from the return of barbarity, and the univerſe from that ſubverſion and anarchy with which it is threatened.

However celebrated the French Revolution may unhappily have been, a Manifeſto againſt it ought to exhibit a true picture of it; and it is by facts alone that the public can be enabled to judge of this grand cauſe of all nations againſt faction and rebellion.

For four years paſt, Europe has viewed with attention, and beheld with increaſing indignation the Revolution which has oppreſſed France, and which detains in captivity an auguſt monarch, worthy of the love of his ſubjects, and entitled to the eſteem, friendſhip, and ſupport of all ſovereigns.

Since his acceſſion to the throne, it is well known that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has teſtified, in every poſſible manner, his affection for his ſubjects; his love of juſtice, his conſtant and ſincere deſire to eſtabliſh order and œconomy in the adminiſtration of his finances, and his honeſty towards the creditors of the nation. To make perſonal ſacrifices was his higheſt enjoyment; and a deſire of complying with public opinion has always determined him in the choice of his meaſures: continually employed in deviſing means for relieving his people, and for knowing and ſatisfying the public wiſhes, he has erred with them and for them; obeyed the dictates of humanity rather than thoſe of juſtice, and overlooked their faults, in hopes that they would repair them without rendering it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to puniſhment; calumny itſelf has, however, always reſpected his intentions; and the moſt criminal and audacious factions, while attacking his ſovereign authority, and inſulting his ſacred perſon, ſtruck by his private virtues, have neither been able, nor dared to deny them.

After trying, in vain, every method that occurred to him of promoting the welfare of his ſubjects, of diſcharging the public debt of the nation, unfortunate in his choice of meaſures, deceived in his hopes, and diſappointed by various events, yet ſtill firm in his benevolent intentions, and encouraged, though there was no occaſion for his being ſo, by the Queen and all the Royal Family, to inceſſantly purſue the object of his wiſhes, the darling paſſion of his heart, the happineſs of his people, Louis XVI. not finding the ſuccour which he ſought in the Aſſembly of the Notables, convoked the States General of the kingdom. He was deſirous of collecting around him, in the three orders of the monarchy, all his ſubjects, and to aſk themſelves by what means he could at length render them happy. Scrupulous even in the form, and fearing to take any thing upon himſelf, he endeavoured to learn, in every manner poſſible, the public opinion reſpecting the calling together of the States General; he found himſelf compelled, by circumſtances which his goodneſs and magnanimous loyalty could not avoid, to change, in this convocation, the ancient form followed by his predeceſſors*; he ſigned, without diſtruſt, orders, inſidiouſly and artfully drawn up, which endangered his ſovereign authority, tended to excite diſcord, and inſinuated diſobedience to his commands. Under theſe fatal auſpices, the States General met; and one of the beſt kings that France can boaſt of, addreſſed to this auguſt but ſoon after criminal aſſembly, theſe valuable words, which ſovereigns, who might have found them in their own ſentiments, ſtill take a pleaſure in repeating:

"Every thing that can be expected from the tendereſt intereſt in the happineſs of the public—every thing that can be required of a ſovereign, the beſt friend of his people, you may and ought to hope for from my ſentiments†."

Theſe memorable expreſſions, which might have recovered the moſt eſtranged hearts, and the moſt alienated minds, and which ought, in a peculiar manner, to have inſpired, with the moſt lively gratitude, a people loaded with kindneſs by their King, were

* *Reſults of the Council of December 27, 1788. Letters of Convocation addreſſed to the Grand Bailiff.*

† *Speech of the King on opening the States General, 5th May 1789.*

ſcarcely

scarcely pronounced, when the signal of revolt was given on all sides. One of the three orders, converting a momentary concession into a right, and abusing a double representation, the object of which, on the part of the Monarch, was to increase his information, without increasing his preponderance, wished, by taking the lead, to swallow up the other two, and to bear them down by its weight. In vain did the laws of the monarchy, the authority of precedent, the nature of things, and the sacred and imprescriptible rights of each order, oppose this ambitious, unjust, and illegal confusion. The resistance of the two first orders were soon overcome, by turning against them their love for the King; opposing the danger of the Monarch to that of the monarchy, and exciting a revolt, which threatened in an imminent degree the life of his Most Christian Majesty. On the report of a danger which the two first orders might doubtless have despised had it threatened only them, consternation put an end to reasoning, there was no longer room for deliberation, it was necessary to act. The Nobility and Clergy rushed into the Assembly with the Third Estate, to save France from the most horrid of crimes; and from that moment the States General, in ceasing to be free, ceased to exist. [*To be continued.*]

Exposition of the Motives on which the French National Assembly have proclaimed the Convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the Suspension of the Executive Power in the Hands of the King.

THE National Assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping the powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing trouble into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens, that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings menaced the liberty of France; they fancied that they had a right to fix to what degree the interest of their despotism permitted us to be free, and flattered themselves that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, fall down before the arms of their slaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

The National Assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; and the King employed against these decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction, which the constitution granted him. In the mean time those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the King; it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority, that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the King, his relations, his former body-guards. And while the correspondence of these facts with the conduct of the King authorised, nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be suspended without being annihilated, shewed clearly how the *veto*, suspensive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the King the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the legislative body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy discontents that announced storms, and the suspicions which accused the executive power displayed themselves with energy.

The National Assembly were not discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants, not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, or forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing warlike stores; and the King was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept but too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negotiations conducted by a ministry, weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a snare or an insult. The league of Kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league appeared the Emperor, brother in-law to the King of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to himself alone, which the Constituting Assembly, deceived by the ministry, had maintained, by sacrificing, to preserve the hope, at that time well founded, of an alliance with the House of Brandenburg.

The National Assembly thought, that it was necessary for the safety of France, to oblige the Emperor to declare whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the

the one bound him to give ſuccours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her, treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of ſeparating the King from the Nation, and of repreſenting a war againſt the French people, as ſuccours granted to his ally. The Emperor's anſwer augmented the diſtruſt which this combination of circumſtances rendered ſo natural. In it he repeated the abſurd charges againſt the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the French people, againſt the popular ſocieties eſtabliſhed in our cities, with which the partizans of the French miniſtry had long wearied the counter-revolution preſſes. He made proteſtations of his deſire to continue the ally of the King, and he had juſt ſigned a new league againſt France, in favour of the authority of the King of the French.

Theſe leagues, theſe treaties, the intrigues of emigrants, who had ſolicited them in the name of the King, had been concealed by the miniſters from the repreſentatives of the people. No public diſavowal of theſe intrigues, no effort to prevent or diſſolve this conſpiracy of monarchs, had ſhewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the King had ſincerely united his own cauſe to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna ſtruck every mind; the National Aſſembly thought it their duty to examine with vigour the conduct of the miniſter for foreign affairs; and a decree of accuſation was the reſult of this examination. His colleagues diſappeared with him, and the King's council was formed of patriot miniſters.

The ſucceſſor of Leopold followed the courſe of his father. He thought proper to require for the Princes formerly poſſeſſing fiefs in Alſace, indemniſications incompatible with the French conſtitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length he announced other cauſes of complaint, which could not, he ſaid, be diſcuſſed before having tried the force of arms.

The King ſeemed to feel that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently without betraying a ſhameful weakneſs; he ſeemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an intereſt in his fate, and to deſire his alliance, for no purpoſe but to ſow ſeeds of diſcord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces, and to ſtop or diſconcert their motions; he propoſed war by the unanimous advice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the aſſemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by ſhewing troops in readineſs to ſecond them on the firſt ſucceſs, by preparing a retreat for them, by perſiſting in a threatening league, the King of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence ruinous in their expence, exhauſted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conſpirators diſperſed through the departments, excited uneaſineſs among the citizens, and thus fomented in them and perpetuated trouble. Never did hoſtilities more really juſtify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

The National Aſſembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithſtanding promiſes ſo often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheleſs, their uneaſineſs, their diſtruſt, ſtill reſted on the former miniſters, on the ſecret councils of the King; but they ſoon ſaw the patriotic miniſters, croſſed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by thoſe who made a parade of perſonal attachment to the King.

Our armies were tormented with political diviſion: diſcord was ſown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the miniſtry. Attempts were made to transform into the inſtruments of a party, which concealed not its deſire of ſubſtituting its will for that of the repreſentatives of the nation, thoſe very armies that were deſtined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintaining the national independence.

The machinations of the prieſts became more active in the moment of war, and made a reſtraining law indiſpenſable; one was paſſed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers was a diſpoſition happily calculated for external defence, while at the ſame time it ſerved to give ſecurity to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their diſquiets might have produced; the formation of ſuch a camp was ordered; but theſe two decrees were rejected by the King, and the patriotic miniſters were diſmiſſed.

The conſtitution had granted to the King a guard of 180 men, and this guard audaciouſly manifeſted a contempt of civil duties, which inſpired the citizens with indignation, or with terror; hatred of the conſtitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the beſt titles for being admitted into it.

The Aſſembly was forced to diſſolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail ſoon to occaſion, and the plots of counter-revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifeſt. The decree was ſanctioned; but a proclamation by the King beſtowed praiſes on thoſe very men, whoſe diſmiſſion from his ſervice he had juſt pronounced, to thoſe whom he had admitted to be men juſtly accuſed of being the enemies of liberty.

The new miniſters excited well-founded diſtruſt; and as this could not ſtop at them, it fell on the King himſelf.

The

The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution. The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition; in it they solicited the recal of the patriotic ministers, and the retractation of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the National Assembly after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present the same petition to the King, and to present it under the forms established by the law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed into the palace. The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the ascendency which his virtues and his patriotism give him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the King, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

The King had mounted the ensigns of liberty, he had done justice to the citizens by declaring, that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the ministers saw nothing in the events of the 20th of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris and those of the departments, between the people and the army, between the several portions of the national guard, between the citizens who remained at their homes and those who were flying to the defence of the state. The very next day the King changed his language, a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies; one of their generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A considerable number of directories of departments, by unconstitutional resolutions, disclosed the plan they had long before formed, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives; between the National Assembly and the King. Justices of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve those of the patriots whose vigilance and whose talents were the most dreaded. Already one of these justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dexterously concerted for finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the royal authority. Letters from the minister for the home-department, directing the employing of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty; and it required all the activity of the National Assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of disorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished in fraternal union the divisions that had appeared but too often in the National Assembly, and from this also the means of safety might have sprung. The prosecutions commenced by the King's order, at the instance of the intendant of the civil list, might have been stopped. The virtuous Pethion, punished, by an unjust suspension, for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the King; and it was possible, that this long series of faults and treasons might have fallen again entirely upon those perfidious counsellors, to whom a confiding people had the long habits of attributing all the crimes of our Kings.

The National Assembly then saw, that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country; they instituted a commission charged to consider of and prepare a plan of these means.

The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts; and yet in the midst of complaints unceasingly repeated of the inaction of government, on the neglect, or ill management of the preparations for war, on the useless or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, ministers unknown or suspected were seen to succeed one another rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity, and the same principles.

A declaration of the general of the enemy, which doomed to death all freemen, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In it the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the King of the French. Twenty-six millions of men were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family; their blood must not

the earth to avenge the ſlighteſt inſult; and the King, inſtead of expreſſing his indignation againſt a manifeſto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, ſeemed to oppoſe to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid diſavowal.

Who then can be aſtoniſhed that diſtruſt in the ſupreme head of the Executive Power ſhould inſpire citizens with the deſire of no longer ſeeing the forces intended for the common defence at the diſpoſition of a King in whoſe name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquillity confided to him whoſe intereſts were the pretexts of all her troubles? To theſe motives, common to all France, were joined others particular to the inhabitants of Paris. They ſaw the families of the conſpirators at Coblentz forming the habitual ſociety of the King and his family. Writers paid by the civil liſt endeavoured by baſe calumnies to render the Pariſians odious or ſuſpected in the eyes of the reſt of France. Attempts were made to ſow diviſion between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guard was agitated by perfidious manœuvres, in order to form in it a party of royaliſts. In fine, the enemies of liberty ſeemed to be divided between Paris and Coblentz, and their audacity increaſed with their number.

The conſtitution enjoined the King to give notice of imminent hoſtilities to the National Aſſembly; and long ſolicitations were neceſſary to obtain of the miniſtry the tardy information of the march of the Pruſſian troops. The conſtitution pronounced abdication againſt the King if he did not, by ſome formal act, declare his oppoſition to enterprizes undertaken in his name againſt the nation: and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the King's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military houſehold for him out of France; and theſe facts were known for more than ſix months before the King, whoſe public declarations, whoſe remonſtrances with foreign powers might have hindered the ſucceſs of theſe meaſures, had diſcharged the duty impoſed upon him by the conſtitution.

It was on motives thus powerful that numerous petitions, ſent from a great number of the departments, the wiſh of ſeveral ſections of Paris, followed by the general expreſſion of the wiſh of the whole Commons, ſolicited the forfeiture of the King, or the ſuſpenſion of the Royal power, and the National Aſſembly could no longer ſhrink from the examination of this grand queſtion.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-conſidered examination, after a ſecond diſcuſſion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhauſted; all at once, they appeared united as one man in the ſame will; they marched towards the place of the King's reſidence, and the King came to ſeek an aſylum in the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the people, whoſe ſeat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris, with the citizens of the departments, would always render an aſylum inviolable and ſacred.

National guards had been charged with defending the reſidence which the King had abandoned, but with them Swiſs ſoldiers were ſtationed. The people had long ſeen, with painful ſurpriſe, Swiſs battalions ſharing the guard of the King, although the conſtitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been eaſy to foreſee that this direct violation of the law, which by its nature conſtantly obtruded itſelf on every eye, would ſooner or later occaſion great misfortunes. The National Aſſembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, diſcuſſions, motions made by individual members and referred to committees, had appriſed the King ſeveral months before, of the neceſſity of diſmiſſing from about his perſon men, whom every where elſe the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not ſee retained about a conſtitutional King, in direct contradiction to the conſtitution, without ſuſpecting that they had become the inſtruments of the enemies of their liberty.

A decree had ordered their removal; their commander, ſupported by the miniſtry, demanded changes in that decree; the National Aſſembly conſented to thoſe changes. A part of the ſoldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew diſquiets; and it was contrary to the ſenſe of the National Aſſembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of Auguſt they were employed on a ſervice from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away, they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the inſtant when the latter were inviting them to peace, when unequivocal ſigns of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the inſtant when a deputation of the National Aſſembly was ſeen advancing in the midſt of arms, to ſpeak the words of peace and conciliation, and prevent carnage. Then nothing could ſtop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of thoſe of which they had long been the victims.

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, the National Aſſembly, afflicted but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their poſt; they took the oath to ſave France, and they ſought for the means.

They ſaw but one, which was that of recurring to the will ſupreme of the people, and inviting

inviting them to exercise immediately their unalienable right of sovereignty, which the constitution has recognised, and which it could not subject to any restriction. The public interest required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a National Convention, formed of representatives invested by them with unlimited powers; it required no less that the members of this Convention should be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the National Assembly could not restrain the powers of the sovereign people, from whom alone the members of that Assembly hold all the powers they possess. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simple regulations traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for elections were respected, because the establishment of new forms, even supposing them to have been better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws, because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the exercise of the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a National Convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature has prescribed, such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory for which the right of citizenship is exercised, of having attained the age at which men are held, by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the National Assembly have made as short as possible the periods of the operations which the Convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of forty days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the King had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people the only means of saving France and Liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the Assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorises them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the King, when the term at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived, that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution, and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

The constitution foresaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which it has fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously proscribed.

The National Assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by the law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the choice into other hands. The Assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given but to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious or personal views; they decreed, that the election should be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attended their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power which every citizen acknowledges will pronounce on our divisions: woe to the man who listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself wholly to the common defence, who shall not see, that at the moment when the sovereign will of the people is about to speak,

we have no enemies but the conſpirators of Pilnitz, and their accomplices.

It is in the midſt of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invaſion, that we call upon the citizens to diſcuſs in a peaceable aſſembly the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared raſh among any other people, ſeemed to us not above the courage and the patriotiſm of the French; and undoubtedly we ſhall not have the misfortune of finding ourſelves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other intereſt but that of liberty, of ſacrificing every other ſentiment to the love of your country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your repreſentatives have exerciſed for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wiſhes in making a uſe of their powers which neither they nor you could foreſee to be neceſſary. For us, we have diſcharged our duty in ſeizing with courage on the only means of preſerving liberty that occurred to our conſideration. Ready to die for it at the poſt in which you have placed us, we ſhall carry with us, at leaſt on quitting that poſt, the conſolation of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgement our contemporaries or poſterity may paſs upon us, we ſhall not have to dread that of our own conſciences; to whatever danger we may be expoſed, the happineſs will remain to us of having ſpared the torrents of French blood which a conduct more weak would have made to flow; we ſhall be ſpared remorſe at leaſt; nor ſhall we have to reproach ourſelves with having ſeen a means of ſaving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

[Signed] GUADET, *Preſident.*
GOUJON. G. ROMME, MARANS, CRESTIN, ARENA LECOINTE-PUIRAVAUX, *Secretaries.*

Eſtimate of the preſent Value of the ſeveral Manufactures of Great Britain.

The Woollen	-	£ 16,800,000
Leather	-	10,500,000
Flax	-	1,750,000
Hemp	-	890,000
Glaſs	-	630,000
Paper	-	780,000
Porcelain	-	1,000,000
Silk	-	3,350,000
Cotton	-	960,000
Lead	-	1,650,000
Tin	-	1,000,000
Iron	-	8,700,000
Steel and Plating	-	3,400,000
Total		£ 51,410,000

Theſe are eſtimated to give employment to upwards of five millions of people.

NEW BOOKS.

Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Ruſſia, in the years 1788, 1789, 1790, *and* 1791. *By A. Swinton, Eſq;* 8vo. 7 *s.* 6*d. boards.* Robinſons.

THE author of theſe travels notices his two recent predeceſſors in this northern tour, Meſſ. Wraxall and Coxe. He admires the celerity of Mr Wraxall's movements, who effected a journey of 2000 miles round the Baltic ſea, in the courſe of five months! a pace too rapid "to ſuppoſe that he had it in his power to draw many of his reflections from actual obſervation:" the preſent writer accordingly corrects occaſionally the wrong information which Mr W. received, and the premature opinions that he formed. Mr Coxe, he obſerves, travelled at a rate ſomewhat ſlower, and much more ſolemn; and he acknowledges the importance of his objects of attention: but another traveller was yet wanted, for, he adds,

"It is not, however, long details, biographical, hiſtorical, or philoſophical, that are expected by every reader to form the principal parts of books of travels. What the traveller himſelf obſerved, inferred, ſuffered, or enjoyed—but above all, manners, cuſtoms, dreſs, modes of life, domeſtic œconomy, amuſements, arts, whether liberal or mechanical, and, in a word, whatever tends to illuſtrate the actual ſtate of ſociety, and that not only among the great, but the body, and even the very loweſt of the people: all this, in the opinion of thoſe who read rather for amuſement than the ſtudy of either politics or natural philoſophy, ſhould enter into thoſe narratives which are ſuppoſed to hold a kind of middle rank between the ſolidity of ſtudied diſcourſe and the freedom of colloquial converſation."

Beyond all this, "the author, in treating of the commerce and agriculture of Ruſſia, will have it particularly in view, to ſhew how nearly the intereſts of Great Britain and Ruſſia are connected, and how falſe that ſyſtem of policy in either country, that would permit even a coolneſs to ſubſiſt between them."

As a ſpecimen of theſe travels, we inſert Mr Swinton's journey from Revel to Peterſburg, in November.

"I left Revel Thurſday morning, and, for the firſt time, ſeated myſelf in a ſledge. I could not brook the idea of being dragged upon a hurdle to the

Ruſſian

Ruſſian capital. A few miles travelling, however, ſoon reconciled me, and I found it very agreeable. A ſledge is a large oblong baſket, partly covered, at top, in the faſhion of an half chaiſe; this is put upon a frame, turning up in the front, like the bow of a ſhip. In this latitude one cannot uſe a chaiſe with any comfort; beſides, it is very heavy with wheels, and requires double the number of horſes. It is wonderful with what expedition the bulkieſt ſledge is drawn along the ſurface of the ſnow.

Before travellers ſet out, they convey their baggage into the bottom of the ſledge, if they journey with one only; above this large feather-beds are laid, ſerving both to warm and to defend the traveller againſt the ſudden jolting of the vehicle. Here he lies, covering himſelf with blankets and furs. He is, beſides dreſſed in furs: a fur coat or pellice, boots lined with fur, and a cap reſembling a muff; nor is this wanting; his hands, cloathed with furred gloves, are likewiſe thruſt into a muff almoſt as large as a French jack-boot. With this, too, he defends his face againſt the cold, which, in driving quickly, is felt to penetrate even this load of ſkins, if the wind be oppoſite. Now, if all this warehouſe of garments be required, conceive the condition of an Engliſhman, in his poſt-chaiſe and thin ſurtout, traverſing Ruſsland! He would not reſemble, but actually be a frozen mummy; and the froſt would preſerve the carcaſe as well as the richeſt balms of Egypt.

We now ſee nothing but villages, half buried in ſnow. The roads are only diſtinguiſhable by the tracks of ſledges, and red painted verſt poſts. It is about three hundred verſts, or two hundred miles from Revel to the capital. The road leads through the provinces of Eſthonia and Ingria, bordering upon the Finland Gulph.

At the approach of winter there are no ſtorms; the breeze is gentle as zephyr. The clouds almoſt bruſh the tops of the foreſts, ſeeming to reſt their loads upon the branches. The Ruſſian driver has found a method to diſturb the ſilence of the midnight hour, by hanging a bell among the harneſs: he accompanies this inſtrument with his voice. There is no difference in dreſs between the Fins and Ruſſians. I have found out which is which, by their manner of ſaluting. The Ruſſian driver, when I give him a little drink-money, either bows, or gets down upon his knees, and touches my ſhoe or the earth with his head. He has a quicker eye in his head than the Fin. The Finlander embraces my knees, and kiſſes my cloaths, or, if you pleaſe, the hem of my garment. The Fin has a ſimple look.

We arrive at different poſts, change horſes, and away like lightning. In the morning we entered a poſt-houſe, and had ſome coffee, while our bed of furs was adjuſted in the ſledge. It is made as any other bed after a night's work. A Ruſſian gentleman is here ſmoaking his pipe: his ſervant is employed in putting his bed in order. His ſledge is far preferable to ours, being neatly built and painted, with windows at the ſide, and curtains in the front; he has ſeveral feather-beds under him, bolſters and pillows without number. This is very unlike the hardy Scythians we have heard of—but ſo things are; and the boor is as warmly cloathed as his betters; he rolls himſelf in a ſheep's ſkin, with the wool inwards: were it outwards, he would look like a ſheep upon its hinder legs: but the ſharpneſs of a Ruſſian eye is not favourable to that diſguiſe. The accommodation is tolerably good from Revel to Narva. However, according to cuſtom, we take our proviſions along with us, ready dreſſed; a loaf, a cold tongue, and a bottle of brandy, are the contents of my wallet. It does not appear that the poſtmaſters are under any obligations to keep proviſions for travellers, for reaſons formerly noticed. At one of the poſts, we could not even procure a bit of bread; at the next ſtage we had an excellent dinner, and a glaſs of equally excellent wine. There are accommodations of another kind to be had in thoſe latitudes, at the lower order of taverns, called Cabacks, or Brandy-ſhops. I could not help taking notice of a ſign-poſt, hung at the corner of a hut, within thirty verſts of Revel, upon the Riga road. The painter had done his beſt to inſpire other paſſions, beſides that for brandy, in the wayfaring Chriſtians. The deſign was above criticiſm—the execution beneath it. I expected to ſee ſome living figures to correſpond with the ticket. I ſaw a nymph, aged fifty, bringing water from the well. Had it been another Sarah, I might, perhaps, have reſted my camels.

Theſe provinces are chiefly inhabited by

by Fins; a people as ſtupid in their viſage as the Ruſſians are lively. They are now ſhut up in their cottages: very few are without doors. A dreary ſcene is every where preſented to view, with ſcarcely the appearance of life.

We arrived at Narva at ſix o'clock, in the dark. A centinel demanded our paſſ ports as we entered the gates, in the name of ſome great man, or Prince, or Sovereign; and in his own name he craved ten copies. You cannot be ſo unreaſonable as to expect an account of Narva, ſeen only at four, or five, or ſix o'clock of a winter's evening. I ſee a jumble of houſes, and if the light, or rather the dark, does not deceive me, I ſee vacancies where houſes might be built.

We paſs under a kind of triumphal arch upon the other ſide of the town. I cannot imagine that this was erected in honour of Charles XII. The maſter of the poſt-houſe in the ſuburbs adviſed us to ſtay all night, as the river Yamburgh was not ſufficiently frozen to bear carriages with ſafety. We had to croſs this river in our firſt ſtage from hence. My German companion would not conſent to remain, and away we drove, our bells jingling, and our coachman ſinging.

We are now at the banks of the river, twenty verſts from Narva. Our poſtilion is gone to procure ſome Ruſſian fiſhermen for our guides. I permitted the ſledge and horſes, the Ruſſians, and German, to go firſt. The pieces of ice, hurled together in this particular place, were to ſerve us for a bridge. I kept the caravan in ſight, and walked with caution behind. The adventure was not of my planning, ſo I allowed the gentlemen to ſhew me the road. I heard the water rumbling under me, and upon every ſide: this, at one o'clock, in a winter morning, was no agreeable ſituation. We are ſafely over, and I have laid myſelf down to ſleep. The poſtillion ſounds his horn. I have looked out, and beheld what to me appeared enchantment: the palace of Saladin, a noble ſquare of buildings, and ſpacious ſtreets. Am I in Peterſburg? Surely it is at a greater diſtance from Narva, or I have ſlept a long time. This city, of whoſe exiſtence I had never heard, is pleaſantly ſituated near the banks of the river of the ſame name. The moon, peeping out between two clouds, enables us to view Yamburgh.

The poſtmaſter is a Ruſſian, the firſt I have ſeen in this office. As we approach Peterſburg, the poſtmaſters are, in general, Ruſſians; and the Ruſſian and Finniſh villages more mixed together.

We are now in Ingria, and, notwithſtanding that the ground is covered with ſnow, I can ſee marks of a fruitful country. It is level, and not incumbered with foreſts or bruſh-wood: and, upon the roads, a number of ſledges are loaded with all ſorts of proviſions, going to market. The ſight is new and ſtrange: every ſledge has one ſmall horſe, and a reverend driver cloathed in ſkins: a long beard hides one-half of his face, while a fur cap nearly covers the other. We find a ſad alteration in our accommodations at the ſtages. The traveller, however, finds ſtill a warm room; and if he has tea or coffee, bread and cheeſe of his own, he may eat and drink, and not otherwiſe. Every thing is good or bad, by compariſon. I uſed to ſhrink from the entertainment at the German houſes in Livonia, and now, I wiſhed for any diſh, if it only ſmoaked. I cannot eat my cold proviſions in ſo cold a climate. Even a ſharp air creates no appetite, if you are lying in a ſledge among feathers. I am therefore convinced, that walking, and next to it riding, is the beſt exerciſe for the preſervation of health in every climate.

The Fins dwell in villages. I can ſee no detached huts in all the country. Their dwellings are wretched indeed. They conſiſt of ſmall fir trees, laid upon one another: the roof is covered with deal boards, and it is rare to ſee any of them new.—What ſurpriſes me, they build their villages in open fields, when the neighbourhood of a wood might protect them from the ſevere weather.

We now draw near to Peterſburg, upon a riſing ground called Ropſhaw, within forty verſts of the Ruſſian metropolis.—The view of the champaign before us is truly romantic. It is bordered with foreſts. The ſhrubs, of unequal height, powdered with ſnow, exactly reſemble waves; and the thinly ſcattered trees, and bruſh-wood at the bottom, the maſts and hulks of veſſels.

We now entered a wood, twenty verſts from Ropſhaw, and ſoon arrived at the palace of Strelina, upon the ſhore of the Gulph of Finland. The Gulph turns very narrow at Cronſtadt, and the palace of Strelina is ſeveral verſts nearer Peterſburg, which we can now diſtinguiſh —its gilded ſpires and domes, and the coaſt

coaſt of Carelia, oppoſite to us, forming the north, as Ingria, where we now are, does the ſouth ſhore of this narrow channel, leading from Cronſtadt to the capital.

The ideal ſcenery at Ropſhaw was here realiſed. I ſaw the frozen Gulph, with ſhips arreſted in various parts, as they had been attempting to reach Cronſtadt or Peterſburg, at the ſetting in of the froſt.

Peterſburg is eighteen verſts from Strelina, where we come upon an elegant road, having marble and granite columns to mark the verſts. The ſeats of the nobility are a farther ornament to this grand avenue into the capital. The ſnow is ſpangled with temples, Chineſe palaces, and many ſuperb buildings, all the way to the gates; and, what is ſtill a finer ſight, the road is crouded with a brave and induſtrious peaſantry, bringing to that emporium every neceſſary of life.

Had one trod the banks of the Neva a hundred years ago, when the foundations of Peterſburg were not laid, and forced his way through the bull-ruſhes which then overſpread them, and were he now to behold this new creation, he would imagine himſelf in a dream, reading the Arabian Nights Entertainments. If Milton had wrote within this period, I ſhould have ſuppoſed that he had borrowed from thoſe wonderful improvements the ideas expreſſed in theſe beautiful lines:

"Anon, out of the earth, a fabric huge
Roſe like an exhalation———
———from the arched roof,
Pendent by ſubtile magic, many a row
Of ſtarry lamps, and blazing creſcents!"

The following is a general view of Peterſburg:

"I feel myſelf here as in another world, the dreſs, the manners, and cuſtoms of the people are ſo different from thoſe of other nations in Europe.

Beſides the variety of nations which compoſe the Ruſſian empire, in my daily walk through the city I meet with Engliſh, Danes, French, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, Portugueſe, Venetians, Poles, Germans, Perſians, and Turks; the latter are arrived here priſoners from Oczakow. This aſſembly is a natural maſquerade; and no city upon earth preſents any amuſement of this kind in ſuch perfection as Peterſburg. In other great cities the variety of ſtrangers are not ſo diſtinguiſhable as here, owing to their accommodating themſelves to the dreſs of the country in which they reſide or ſojourn, in order to prevent the mob from ſtaring at them.

In Peterſburg there is no need of this compliance: let foreigners be dreſſed ever ſo oddly, they will find, in every lane, ſubjects of the Ruſſian empire to keep them in countenance. She brings into this ball her various ſwarms, from the ſnowy mountains of Kamſchatka, to the fertile plains of the Ukraine—a ſpace of 4000 miles! Siberians, Tonguſians, Calmucs, and an endleſs train of Tartar nations, the Fins, the Coſſacs, &c. Peterſburg is a ſtrange city, even to the Ruſſians: it increaſes daily, with new recruits from every corner of the empire.

Ruſſia reſembles an heir newly come to his eſtate. She is only beginning to learn, and ſeems ſtruck at her own importance. This young heir has got his different maſters to attend him: the Engliſh maſter is teaching him the art of navigation and commerce; the French, as uſual, to dance and to dreſs; the Italian is drawing plans for his houſe, and teaching him to ſing: the German makes him wheel to the right and left, and teaches him all the other arts of war.

The truth is, the Ruſſians are going on too faſt in affecting, as well as attaining improvement. Foreigners have put too many things into their heads, and, I believe, are picking their pockets, by the idle ſchemes with which they amuſe them. The Ruſſians, in general, look upon foreigners as a kind of ſuperior beings in regard to the arts and ſciences. They value themſelves chiefly upon their valour, and the ſtrength of their army and navy.

The improvement that firſt attracted my attention is the theatre: in the depth of a ſix month's winter, this naturally attracts us from other objects perhaps more valuable. They have French, German, and Ruſſian comedians, and an Italian opera. The maſquerade is a favourite amuſement at this dreary ſeaſon. There are ſuch great diſtinctions of ranks without doors, that they are happy at times to ſink and forget theſe in a maſque. On the contrary, in England we are ſo much upon a level, without and within doors, that it would be no amuſement or relaxation to repeat the ſame ſcenes: and this I take to be the reaſon that we have few maſquerades.

The

The French actors are highly eſteemed; and I aſſure you the Ruſſian players are no leſs ſo, in comedy. The latter have a peculiar turn for works of humour; but in tragedy they cut a poor figure. Tragedy has no charms in their eyes, and I am very much of their way of thinking. There are a ſufficient number of melancholy ſcenes preſented every day in real life: I prefer, with the Muſcovites, to ſing and dance while we may.

This turn for humour in the Ruſſians is attended with a fault: their comedy too often approaches to farce. They enjoy, with all their ſouls, their native operas, in which are introduced rural ſcenery and manners, and native airs. Were I not afraid of your calling me Goth, I would tell you I prefer many of the Ruſs ſongs to the Italian: they are ſimple, but exquiſitely pleaſing—the Ruſſians forget every thing elſe while they are liſtening to them. Even among the waggoners, and other ruſtics, we ſhall ſometimes find five or ſix, dividing their voices into as many keys, and producing a concert no way contemptible. They are ſelf-taught, and do not underſtand what tenor, baſs, or treble means. I wonder that the Italians have not pretended that ſome David Rizzio had viſited this country, ſeeing they are jealous of their quavers.

The Ruſſian inſtruments of muſic are ſimple as their ſongs: of theſe, the balileka is the favourite of the common people. This is a kind of guittar, with two ſtrings: the perſomer places it upon his knee, and ſtrikes the wire with ſuch art, as to move ſome correſponding chord in the breaſt of every Ruſſian within hearing. Several of their other inſtruments reſemble thoſe of the ancient Romans; particularly the pipe of Pan is matched by their whiſtle, of nine or ten joints, placed at each others ſides, of unequal lengths.

You muſt always expect to hear poetry mentioned with muſic. Ruſſia has produced two excellent poets, in Lomonoſof, and Sumorokof. The ſongs of the peaſants are not deſtitute of poetry; and, as they convey the trueſt characteriſtic of a people, I will hereafter endeavour to give you a tranſlation of ſome of the beſt. —Poetry, under all its diſguiſes, has delivered to us more faithful pictures of our anceſtors than hiſtory. This ſublime art impels to truth. Truth is the actor in poetry; fiction is the ſcenery and dreſs."

Overlooking the occaſional *flippancy** of the writer, this volume contains a variety of amuſing information; and he is always intereſting, when he condeſcends to be ſerious. M.

The Life of Jane de St Remy de Valois, heretofore Counteſs De la Motte. Containing a Detail of the many extraordinary Events which have attended this unfortunate Lady from her Birth, and contributed to raiſe her to the Dignity of Confidant and Favourite of the Queen of France. Some farther Particulars relative to the myſterious Tranſaction of the Diamond Necklace. Her Trial, Condemnation, and Impriſonment in the Salpetriere; her almoſt miraculous Eſcape from thence: with many curious Particulars of her Journey through ſeveral provinces of France, under different Diſguiſes. Alſo, an Addreſs to the National Aſſembly, ſupplicating a new trial. Written by herſelf. 2 vols. 13 s. boards. Bew.

ABOUT three years ago, were publiſhed Memoirs of the Counteſs de Valois de la Motte, profeſſed to be a tranſlation from the French, written by herſelf. In the preface to the preſent work, this moſt unfortunate lady complains, that, under the agitation of mind in which ſhe drew up a ſtate of the leading facts there related, ſhe availed herſelf of the aſſiſtance of a gentleman who had been recommended to her to reduce them into order. On peruſal, however, ſhe found great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the colouring which he gave to her ſentiments and language; particularly in his deſcription of her ſecond interview with the Queen, which ſhe thought expoſed her to injurious ſuſpicions: but the original being publiſhed when ſhe made this diſagreeable diſcovery, ſhe could only

* We are ſorry to uſe this word, if it appears to be too harſh: but we could not think of a ſofter term, ſuitable to ſuch paſſages as the following, which we give as a ſpecimen of the *flippancies* to which we here allude:

"The Daniſh ladies are not remarkable for their beauty. It muſt be from the Saxon females that the moſt conſiderable part of our fair countrywomen inherit their charms. The higher claſſes of the Engliſh, and the lower ranks of the Scotch women, are, no doubt, of Daniſh extraction, if we may judge from a parity of uglineſs."

If the remark be thought well founded, it does not, however, ſhew, to much advantage, the writer's politeneſs. Beſide, it meets us out of place. While travelling in Norway, Denmark, and Ruſſia, we could not have expected this anomalous reflection on the ladies of our own country!

only endeavour to get the facts more simply stated in the translation.

In this new publication, Madame De la Motte enters into a more full detail of the events of her private life, which she professes to be an unvarnished picture of her weaknesses and errors, drawn by a pencil not guided by the finger of vanity. Friends and strangers, she observes, were equally pressing to hear the narrative of her misfortunes; their importunities were in no small degree enforced by the low whispers of suspicion; and lest silence should give sanction to reproach, she took up the pen with a trembling hand, and wrote the dictates of her wounded honour. She writes, indeed, in an agreeable and interesting manner, that impresses the reader with confidence in her relation. The profits resulting from this publication, she promised to dedicate to the payment of her husband's creditors, that they may derive comfort from this record of her misfortunes; and that even her miseries may be advantageous to others. These miseries are now closed by a fatal disaster recorded in the supplement to her present narrative; those of her once powerful persecutors have since followed; they are all so completely swept away, and the whole scene where these transactions took place is so wholly altered, that these volumes contain in truth a tale of other times, a sort of antediluvian narrative!

Jane de St Remy de Valois, who claimed descent from a natural son of Henry II. was born at Fontette, July 22. 1756. Her father, styled Baron de St Remy, of whose talents we are not taught to form very exalted ideas, had a son by his father's maid, Maria Ioffel, whom he married, and then had two daughters, of whom this Jane was the eldest. Her mother, of whose person she gives a far more advantageous description than of either her disposition or character, so impoverished her husband by her extravagance, and by liberality to her poor relations, that they thought it prudent to desert their inheritance, and repair to Paris. Jane and her brother were taken with them; but the younger child was left, or rather dropped, to the optional care of its godfather, an old avaricious farmer, who was in possession of a great part of the Baron's estate. Jane was then about four years old, and was cruelly used by her mother, who trained her to run after passengers, begging as a descendant from Henry II. de Valois King of France. Her father soon dying of distress and dejection, her mother attached herself to a soldier, still keeping Jane to her beggarly occupation; she enjoined her to bring home every day ten sous, and on Sundays and holidays twice that sum; and to excite the greater compassion, a younger sister, born a few days after her father's death, was tied on her back. At length, this mother and the soldier deserted the children, leaving them in a wretched lodging, and to the still more wretched employment of begging and cleaning shoes. When they had been about a month in business on their own account, they met a carriage and four horses, which, proceeding but slowly, afforded them the opportunity of begging at the door in their usual style as orphan descendants of the royal house of Valois. This coach happened to belong to the Marquis de Boulainvilliers, who, with his lady, was going to his country-seat; and the Marchioness, after giving them a trifle, ordered them to call on her, that she might examine into the truth of their pretensions. The Marchioness put the girls to a boarding-school for education, where the youngest soon died of the smallpox; and, after the like preparation, she sent the son to sea. The Marquis, who is represented as very avaricious, not viewing this patronage, which might prove expensive, in a favourable light, Jane was articled for three years to a mantuamaker: but the fatigue of her business, together with some sparks of pride, kindled by the great attention paid to her pretensions of nobility by the Marchioness and her connections, threw her into a fit of illness. On her recovery, she was removed to another mistress: whose business being still more extensive, a relapse ensued, and she again returned to the hotel de Boulainvilliers. She was then sent to wait on a gentlewoman; and afterward to assist a woman who took in plain work: but none of these stations corresponding with her enlarged ideas, another illness brought her back to the Boulainvilliers family. Having 'now nearly attained her full stature,' the Marquis began to view her with a different kind of attention, and made her a variety of presents; which gave much uneasiness to the Marchioness, who was then endeavouring to get her and her brother's pretensions acknowledged at

court. A more explicit manifeſtation of ungenerous views being repulſed, his partiality was changed into enmity. Her brother, however, who had ſerved in the navy, was preſented at court, his family and title were acknowledged, and a penſion was to be aſſigned to him and his ſiſters to ſupport their new characters: but by the ill offices of the Marquis, under the plea of ſtate œconomy, theſe penſions were contracted to 800 livres, about 33l. Sterling, annually, to each. Being now on an eſtabliſhment, however narrow, Mademoiſelle St Remy de Valois removed to a convent, ſtill followed by the ſolicitations and ill offices of the admiring Marquis, according to the fluctuations of his temper; until ſhe accepted an offer of reſiding with a lady who was aunt to Monſ. De la Motte, an officer in the Gens d'Armes, and whom our heroine married: ſoon after which event, ſhe loſt her kind mother (in law), as ſhe always terms her, by the ſmall-pox. Among other great perſonages to whom the Marchioneſs had introduced Madame De la Motte, was the Cardinal de R——, who readily promiſed her his patronage; and this *princely* and profligate prelate, who had formerly been on the beſt terms with the Queen of France, but was then at great variance with her, hoped, if he could manage to introduce Madame De la Motte into royal favour, that ſhe might return the obligation by promoting a reconciliation; and this event actually followed.

This is a bare ſketch of the previous hiſtory of this remarkable woman, whoſe ſubſequent adventures are better known than intimately underſtood, though much may be inferred amid the obſcurity of her relation. As to the hiſtory of the famous diamond necklace, we may poſſibly reſt as ſafely on her account of it as on any other; for we have none but from parties, and, though all are to be read with caution, the greateſt credit may be due to the greateſt ſufferer.

The fame of intimacy with the great, and the hopes which it inſpires, have often ſeduced little folks to utter ruin. The honour of confidence is generally dearly bought, by employment in tranſactions which they might diſdain as principals. Objections are not expected from inferior agents; and thoſe agents, hoping that their intereſt is ſecured by the poſſeſſion of ſecrets, run blindly into ſchemes of which, if they fail by diſcovery, the whole guilt is heaped on the devoted inſtruments. Thus it appears to have fared with the unfortunate inſtance in queſtion: for perſonages too exalted for reſponſibility, muſt be ſcreened at any rate.

Occaſions continually offer for remarking that, if any virtue yet remains amid a general relaxation of principles, it is to be ſought in the middle ranks of ſociety; for want of property, and a ſuperabundance of it, are equally deſtructive of correct habits of thinking and acting. Our view is now directed to the ſuperior ranks in life; and the higher we carry our ſcrutiny, the farther we depart from all ſolicitude to preſerve a ſpotleſs character. High life is above low obligations; and when we riſe to royalty, we reach the climax of moral liberty! According to the memoirs before us, the Cardinal de Rohan had by ſome means loſt his former favour with the Queen, which was ſucceeded by a deeply rooted antipathy; ſo that when, through the medium of Madame De la Motte, he ſought a reſtoration to favour, a baſe ſcheme was meditated to entrap him to ſure deſtruction. It is here that we obtain a glimmering of light, juſt enough to render the darkneſs viſible; and to enable us to perceive how the heedleſs mediatrix, as unguarded as her miſtreſs, ſuffered herſelf to be fatally entangled in the ſame net. On the failure of this ſcheme, the merit of which is claimed by the Counteſs, and during a ſeeming good underſtanding among all the three, the myſterious negotiation for the diamond necklace, in which the Queen's name was not to be mentioned, but eſcaped by the Cardinal's eagerneſs to fulfil his commiſſion, appears to be then converted into another plot, for involving an embarraſſed man in a pecuniary obligation every way beyond his ability to diſcharge, and then dropping him in it. The diſregard afterward ſhewn to this valuable toy, by ſome of the ſtones being given to the Counteſs, *all* the conſequences of which dangerous, if not inſidious, preſent, the donor did not *perhaps* conſider, will not diſcredit the ſurmiſe:—but this lady, who perſonally roſe from the loweſt ſtation, not improving with equal ſpeed in political fineſſe, ſo as to act with ſuperior perſonages on equal terms, appears to have meddled officiouſly in the buſineſs, more than in prudence ſhe ought to have done, ſo that when the ſtorm was ready to burſt on

the Cardinal, he ungratefully contrived that it ſhould fall on, and cruſh, an unprotected woman.

Though this work is profeſſed to be written by Madame De la Motte, it is not ſaid to be a tranſlation from her French MS; yet it does not read like an original compoſition, nor can we ſuppoſe that the Counteſs had acquired a ſufficient knowledge of our language to write it in Engliſh.

The laſt and greateſt misfortune of this lady's unhappy life, (already mentioned), is thus related by the editor, in a *ſupplement* to her memoirs: it befel her, after her laſt retreat into England.

The *ci-devant* Counteſs, as ſhe ſtyled herſelf, having completed the preceding Hiſtory of her Life, was induced to delay its publication, from overtures being made for its ſuppreſſion by a perſon pretending to be charged with a commiſſion for that purpoſe from the then HIGHEST POWERS in France. Some months were therefore waſted in fruitleſs negotiation, till the unexpected flight, and conſequent embarraſſments, of the Royal Fugitives deſtroyed every flattering proſpect and pleaſing hope of the Counteſs being relieved from the difficulties in which the moſt vindictive perſecutions had involved her. The diſcuſſion of inferior objects neceſſarily gave way to the more momentous concerns of national affairs; and the ſpeedy flight of the negotiator, who had impreſſed her with an idea that ſhe would ſoon be placed beyond the reach of fortune, by the immediate ſettlement of an annuity on herſelf, and the liquidation of her huſband's debts, on condition of giving up the manuſcript and printed copies of Her Life, left her to ſtruggle with the new-created difficulties his flattering aſſurances had ſo greatly increaſed.

During this time, debts ſhe had unavoidably contracted; not through luxurious indulgence, but by immediate neceſſity; for in the humiliating ſchool of adverſity ſhe had been taught the uſeful leſſons of frugality and moderation; and theſe ſhe daily practiſed, with patient ſubmiſſion; yielding to her reverſe of fortune with a calm compoſure that would not have diſhonoured the rigid maxims of the moſt auſtere philoſopher. Theſe, however, ſhe had a reaſonable proſpect of being diſencumbered from. But her tranquillity was again interrupted by a ſhock ſhe little expected, and was leſs prepared to ſupport. Without previous demand or intimation, a writ was iſſued againſt her for a debt of 30l. ſaid to have been contracted by her huſband during his reſidence in England; and ſhe was arreſted at her lodgings, oppoſite the Temple of Flora, near the Aſylum.

Here the fortitude which had ſupported her through more trying ſcenes forſook her. She was alarmed with the idea of its being a ſcheme once more to put her in the power of her enemies; and the dread of being again immured amid the horrors of a French priſon diſtracted her mind. It was natural enough for her to entertain this ſuppoſition, as ſimilar attempts had been unſucceſsfully made. The minion of juſtice frequently admoniſhing her of the neceſſity he was under of immediately conveying her to priſon, at length rouſed her to a due ſenſe of her ſituation. By the perſuaſive influence of a guinea, and a bottle of wine placed on the table, his forbearance was obtained for an hour or two, in which time ſhe told him ſhe ſhould be able to procure a friend to bail the action. The fellow's ſcruples being thus ſilenced, he was leſs attentive to his priſoner than the paſſing ſtrangers of the ſtreet, his attention being occupied by looking out of the window. The Counteſs, imagining this would be a favourable opportunity to extricate herſelf from the fell gripe of her mercileſs purſuer, with much art and dexterity ſlipped out of the room, and locking the door on the outſide, thought of her eſcape; ſhe ran into a neighbouring houſe, while the bailiff, ſenſible of the trick, remained at the window, coolly obſerving what courſe ſhe would take. Being ſatisfied of this, he ſoon liberated himſelf and followed her. He ſearched the houſe, which ſhe vainly hoped would have proved her aſylum, without effect, till reaching the two pair of ſtairs back room, the door of which was locked, he concluded the unhappy fugitive had taken refuge in it, and without heſitation broke it open. This he had no ſooner accompliſhed, than, maddening with the idea of being again in his power, ſhe threw up the window, and jumped out before he could ſecure her.

By the raſh act of this frantic moment, falling againſt the trunk of a tree, ſhe broke one of her thighs, ſhattered her knee-pan, beat in one of her eyes, diſfigured her face, and otherwiſe bruiſed her body in a manner too ſhocking to relate. The blood iſſued with a violence from her wounds, that for a while reſiſted every

effort to ſtop its courſe, ſuſpended animation, and impreſſed the idea of immediate diſſolution. Recovering, however, from theſe dangerous ſymptoms, ſhe was at length, with much care though great difficulty, conveyed to her lodgings. But while the feelings of the ſurrounding ſpectators were agonized with humane ſympathy at this horrid ſpectacle, the officer, with a diſgraceful apathy, was only intent to maintain the legality of his caption, and refuſed to ſurrender the mangled carcaſe till he had good bail for its ſecurity. This was obtained from a gentleman who has ſince conteſted the validity of the writ, and nonſuited the party with whom it originated.

She continued for ſome weeks in a doubtful ſtate of painful ſuffering; and her friends rather cheriſhed than entertained the hope of her recovery. The exertions of her ſurgeon however ſeemed to co-operate with their wiſhes, and his ſkill effected more than their warmeſt hopes expected. No leſs diſtinguiſhed by humanity than profeſſional ability, it is a tribute enforced by truth to mention the name of Mr Forſter, ſurgeon, near the Aſylum.

About the expiration of the ninth week ſhe was ſo far recovered as to be judged out of danger. Her ſpirits, which had never forſaken her during this ſevere trial, ſeemed now to have recovered much of their wonted brilliancy. Her friends rejoiced in the event; but their imprudence ſoon put an end to every flattering proſpect. On Sunday, the 21ſt day of Auguſt 1791, they inconſiderately gave her ſome mulberries, of which ſhe was extremely fond, to eat; they had an immediate and fatal effect; for ſcarcely had they ſettled on her ſtomach, before ſhe ſwelled to an aſtoniſhing degree, and was ſeized with a violent vomiting, which continued with little intermiſſion till the Tueſday night following, when ſhe expired. She was privately interred in the lower burying-ground at Lambeth, on the Friday following, aged 35.

Such was the melancholy termination of the life of that extraordinary woman, Jean de St Remy de Valois. In whoſe character, whatever may be ſaid by the rigid daughters of chaſtity in the inſolence of virtue, there were many good and amiable traits. In her diſpoſition ſhe was generous and humane, in behaviour affable and engaging; and in her converſation ſprightly and entertaining; the life and ſpirit of whatever circle ſhe appeared in; and from the ſuperiority of her mental endowments, the envy or admiration of whoever knew them. She poſſeſſed a maſculine ſpirit, ſoaring far beyond the timidity of her ſex, which ſupported her through every perilous trial except that which accelerated her diſſolution. Her appeal is now made to a higher tribunal; if on earth ſhe had the vices detraction has painted, let her death expiate them, and her grave conceal them." M.

Copies and Extracts of Letters from Gov. Phillip, giving an account of the Nature and Fertility of the Land in New South Wales, of the Probability of raiſing Proviſions, and of the Behaviour and Employment of the Convicts. To which are prefixed, Extracts of Letters from the Secretary of State's Office, &c. 4to. 7*s.* 6*d. ſewed.* Debrett.

THE ſingular eſtabliſhment in New South Wales may now be preſumed to have nearly ſurmounted its firſt difficulties, and to have made ſome progreſs toward anſwering its purpoſe; though it will probably require a great length of time,—ſome generations,—before *virtue* can take a firm root amid a continued importation of every ſpecies of human vice. It is certainly a moſt unnatural ſoil for the cultivation of ſo delicate a plant.

When thoſe, however, who have hitherto ſubſiſted by preying on the induſtry of others, are collected in a remote ſociety compoſed only of themſelves, it muſt be the beſt ſchool of reformation; becauſe, deprived of their former reſources, thoſe among them who think, muſt feel the indiſpenſable obligation of common honeſty toward each other, in order to ſubſiſt at all. On this ground, there may be ſome hope, that ſuch a colony of outcaſts, properly regulated, may in time become uſeful to themſelves and to others. This hope is countenanced by the laſt ſentence of the governor's laſt letter:—"I can ſtill ſay, with great truth and equal ſatisfaction, that the convicts in general behave better than ever could be expected."

Gov. Phillip, who appears to fill a moſt awkward ſtation with great propriety, profeſſes to be relieved from any apprehenſions of ſerious diſturbance from the natives; who have certainly every reaſon to ſhun the neighbourhood of ſuch powerful ill-conditioned interlopers. He obſerves,

"I

"I believe there is little reaſon to think that the natives will ever attack any building, and ſtill leſs to ſuppoſe they will attack a number of armed men: not that I think they want innate bravery; they certainly do not—but they are ſenſible of the great ſuperiority of our arms. Setting fire to the corn I moſt feared, but which they never have attempted; and as they avoid thoſe places we frequent, it is ſeldom that any of them are now ſeen near the ſettlement. The cattle, if they find them in the woods, they undoubtedly will deſtroy, which is all I believe the ſettler will have to apprehend. Their attacking ſtragglers is natural; for thoſe people go out to rob the natives of their ſpears, and the few articles they poſſeſs; and as they do it too frequently with impunity, the puniſhments they ſometimes meet with are not to be regretted; they have had a good effect."

Hence it appears, that, ſo far from forming any expectations of a good underſtanding with the natives, he derives a benefit from their antipathy.

The preſent general circumſtances of this colony may be inferred from the following extract from the Governor's letter of July 17. 1790:

"To mark the time in which it may be ſuppoſed the colony will be able to ſupport itſelf, it will be neceſſary to point out thoſe circumſtances which may advance or retard that period. It will depend on the numbers employed in agriculture, who, by their labour, are to provide for thoſe who make no proviſion for themſelves.

I do not reckon on the little labour which may be got from the women, tho' ſome are employed in the fields, and their numbers will be increaſed, as the greateſt part will always find employment in making their own and the men's clothing, and in the neceſſary attention to their children. The ground which the military may cultivate, will be for their own convenience; and nothing from that quarter, or from the officers in the civil department, can be expected to be brought into the public account. The providing houſes and barracks for the additional number of officers and ſoldiers, rebuilding thoſe temporary ones which were erected on our firſt arrival, and which muſt be done in the courſe of another year, as well as building more ſtore-houſes and huts for the convicts as they arrive, will employ a conſiderable number of people; and works of this kind will always be carrying on. Temporary buildings, when we firſt landed, were abſolutely neceſſary: but they ſhould be avoided in future, as, after three or four years, the whole work is to be begun again; and the want of time greatly increaſes the labour in building with bricks, as we are obliged to increaſe the thickneſs of the walls, and cannot carry them to any height; at the ſame time, if very heavy rains fall before they are covered in, they are conſiderably damaged.

The incloſed return will ſhew in what manner the convicts are employed at preſent; and I have increaſed the number of thoſe employed in clearing the land for cultivation as far as it will be poſſible to do it before next January, except by convaleſcents, from whom little labour can be expected.

About buſhels of wheat and barley remain from our laſt year's crop; and I hope next year, that a very conſiderable quantity of ground will be ſown: but, Sir, this ſettlement has never had more than one perſon to ſuperintend the clearing and cultivating ground for the public benefit, or who has ever been the means of bringing a ſingle buſhel of grain into the public granary. One or two others have been ſo employed for a ſhort time, but removed as wanting either induſtry or probity; and ſhould the perſon who has at preſent the entire management of all the convicts employed in clearing and cultivating the land, be loſt, here is not any one in the ſettlement to replace him. Of the five ſuperintendants ſent out, one only is a farmer; when he gets his health, he will be a very uſeful man. I do not wiſh for many farmers to be ſent out as ſuperintendants, for few farmers will be found equal to the charge of a conſiderable number of convicts; but if two good men could be found, who, as well as being good huſbandmen, had ſufficient ſpirit to diſcharge the truſt which muſt be repoſed in them, they will be of great uſe: they will be neceſſary, as the number of convicts increaſe; and the more ſo as the perſon who at preſent has that charge will not ſettle in the country. It was ſuppoſed that a ſufficient number of good farmers might have been found amongſt the convicts, to have ſuperintended the labours of the reſt, and men have been found, who anſwer the purpoſe of preventing their ſtraggling from their work; but

none

none of them are equal to the charge of directing the labour of a number of convicts, with whom moſt of them are linked by crimes they would not wiſh to have brought forward: and very few of the convicts have been found to be good farmers.

You will, Sir, from what I have ſaid, ſee how impoſſible it is for me to detach a body of convicts to any diſtance, as they muſt have a ſufficient perſon to ſuperintend and direct their labours, and a ſtorekeeper to be charged with their proviſions; nor do I at this moment ſee any neceſſity for it. The land at Roſe Hill is very good, and in every reſpect well calculated for arable and paſture ground, though certainly loaded with timber, the removal of which requires great labour and time; but it is the ſame with the whole country, as far as I have ſeen, particular ſpots excepted, and which, as they cannot at preſent be cultivated by us, for we cannot make detachments of convicts, I propoſe giving to the firſt ſettlers who come out, as is mentioned in my letter No. and if ſettlers ſhould arrive before I receive any further directions on this head, and they ſhould wiſh to be placed in ſuch diſtinct and ſeparate farms, I preſume complying with their requeſt will not be deemed an improper deviation from my inſtructions.

The conſequence of the failure of a crop, when we no longer depend on any ſupplies from Great Britain, will be obvious; and to guard againſt which is one reaſon for my being ſo deſirous of having a few ſettlers; and to whom, as *the firſt ſettlers*, I think every poſſible encouragement ſhould be given. In them I ſhould have ſome reſource, and amongſt them proper people might be found to act in different capacities, at little or no expence to government; for, as the number of convicts and others increaſe, civil magiſtrates, &c. will be neceſſary.

The fixing the firſt ſettlers in townſhips, will, I fear, prevent that increaſe of live ſtock, which would be raiſed in farms at a diſtance from a great body of people, where the ſtock will be leſs liable to ſuffer from the depredations which may be expected from the ſoldier and the convict, and againſt which there is no effectual ſecurity. The convicts, if they are to be employed by the ſettlers, or thoſe people they may bring with them, will be more induſtrious, and lie under leſs temptation to be dishoneſt, if living only twenty or thirty together, and detection will be eaſier.

I hope the many untoward circumſtances which the colony has hitherto met with are now done away; and I flatter myſelf, that after two years from this time we ſhall not want any farther ſupply of flour. At the ſame time I beg to be underſtood, that various accidents may render a ſupply neceſſary after that time. How long a regular ſupply of beef and pork will be neceſſary, depends on the quantity of live ſtock which may be introduced in the ſettlement, and of its increaſe, of which I can form no judgement."

The immenſe diſtance of the ſpot, and the proportional expence of this plan of colonization, form the ſtrongeſt objections to the ſcheme: but thoſe men, who ſet all laws at defiance, cannot be removed too far from their native ſoil, their right to which they have forfeited; and as they are ſaved from the gallows, a part of the expence may be placed to the account of humanity. Experience has ſufficiently proved, that a man, who has expoſed himſelf to any puniſhment from a court of juſtice, can never thoroughly reſume nor aſſume the credit of honeſty: when once the law has ſtigmatized him as a rogue, if he be thought fit to live, it ought only to be in ſuch a community as that formed in New South Wales. Very few, it may be hoped, will ever return from that ſettlement. M.

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(Being an allusion to the Times.)

I.

ONCE more I fain would close a joyful year,
But not with joy resounds my lay!
No, no—I sing a *time* of grief severe,
And keep a sprightly song for happier day!
Perhaps ere then I'll close my voice for aye,
And this may be my last complaining strain!
Yet not myself I weep; it is *Britannia's* pain!

II.

Made as I am to feel my Country's woe,
Ev'n equal with my own,
(And many a woe and many a grief I've known),
My self-lamenting strains I now forego,
And all in sober silent plight,
From other cares I take my flight,
To listen to my dear *Britannia's* moan,
On yonder wave-beat shore,
Where sad she sits and hears the billows roar.
Methinks I see her pale in sorrow toss'd,
Dreading her ancient glory lost!
Her garland cast at distance on the ground,
Her hair dishevell'd, and her zone unbound!
(Her bosom bare), she beats her snowy breast,
Then lifts to heaven a tearful eye,
While uttering many a heaving sigh,
Her loud lamenting woes she mournful thus expreſs.

III.

"Oh shall these stormy seasons ne'er give o'er?
What mean these endless tempests on my shore?
A full long year and more,
Has teen Britannia's welkin weep,
While show'rs on show'rs a daily deluge pour,
And warring winds still vex the roaring deep!
Yes, sure—th' offended Powers above
Have sent these driving tempests forth,
While our hard hearts they scarce can move
With all the furies of the angry North!—
Oh my dear country! to thy interests blind,
Will not thy thriving arts, thy plenteous bread,
Thy equal laws to equal freedom join'd,
Avert Heaven's sacred vengeance from thy head?
Ah no! it thus to discontent a prey,
Thou grumble on from day to day,
And loath such blessings dear, and fling such boons away!"

IV.

So spoke the Goddess all in solemn strain,
While the fair Nereids of her azure main,
Her anxious sorrow share,
Crowd all around, and call the winds to hear.
Strait a calm stillness o'er the deep is spread,
Soft gentle zephyrs play around her head,
While smiling sweet thro' tears, she thus went on and said:

V.

"Shall then my glorious realms, the boast, the pride,
Of Britons bold, the envy of the world,
From their strong solid base be push'd aside,
In wild confusion hurl'd?
And all to please a vain ambitious *Few*,
Who spurn their king, both church and state deride,
And half their own dark schemes just bring to view!
But say, shall such dark schemes the proof abide?
Say, shall my dearest peace be overthrown,
And nothing left to call mine own!
My commerce, arts, my glories all resign'd;
While Faction's sons, with curſed *Gallia* join'd,
Would shake my stable throne, and ruin hail mankind!

VI.

What then has rais'd my glory to such height,
Thus happy plac'd in bosom of the main!
'Tis commerce, arts; 'tis freedom, law, and right,
Under a patriot monarch's equal reign!
Why will ye not, my sons, such Prince obey,
Who joins his interests to your own,
While mercy, truth, and law support his sway:—
No tyrant king, no despot fierce, is he,
But by mild justice rules alone,
The tenderest father of a people free!—
Think, oh my sons, on all your glories past,
Your praise, your honour, your high warlike pride,
Your ancient glorious deeds in freedom's cause,
O'er Europe spread, and all the world beside!
Your present bliss, your liberty and laws!
While wealth flows on you in each coming tide!
Think, think on these, nor heed who cry *Reform*,
Who soon on Britain's land would call a hideous storm!

VII.

Rather, my sons, enjoy your present ease!
Your Sov'reign's gentle sway, your righteous laws!
Nor trust the arts of those, whom naught can please,
Save the vile counsels of a wretched cause:—
A cause, which to your gates would sudden bring
Rapine and ruin, spoil, and war's annoy,
To shed your noblest blood, to kill your king:
To poison each domestic joy,
'Gainst father arm the son, 'gainst husband wife,
Break every bond of social life,
And all the polish'd arts of heav'n-born Peace destroy!

VIII.

VIII.

My ſons, on wiſer ſchemes your thoughts employ,
Than thus o'erturn th' old ſyſtem of your land,
Approv'd of Heaven, and all ſo wiſely plann'd,
For which your fathers fought, for which they bled!
The fabric fair of your bleſt commonweal,
As if it broken were, why need you heal,
Or try to build a goodlier in its ſtead?
Ah no! with rath unhallowed hands forbear
To touch its ſtout and venerable frame!
Its grandeur, age, and well-try'd ſtrength revere!
Nor ſeek with all unprofitable aim
To mar — nay not to mend that glorious pile,
Under whoſe ſheltering wings my fav'rite Iſle,
For many a day ſuch matchleſs bliſs hath known,
Ev'n from the meaneſt cottage to the throne?
While high and low, and rich and poor,
Enjoy peculiar bliſs, their life and lot ſecure!

IX.

Think on yon ruin'd kingdom's hapleſs lot,
Her monarch, (wretched monarch!) now no more!
Her arts, her ſciences, her laws forgot,
Faction and Anarchy rule all her ſhore!
How art thou fallen, proud *Gallia*, paſt our thought!
Yet haughtier deſpots now thy land pervade!
Fell ruffians under Faction's wild controul,
Would fain o'er Europe wide their havock ſpread,
And under *freedom's* name their *conqueſts* roll!
Reſiſt, *my land*, reſiſt their ruffian boaſt,
To ſhake thy glorious throne, thy laws divine!
Call forth your naval power, your martial hoſt,
And truſt in heav'n above its aid to join,
To drive ſuch Atheiſts from the earth away,
All gathering clouds diſperſe, and bring us back the day!"

Edinburgh, January 1793.

To my CANDLE.

By *PETER PINDAR*, Esq.

THOU lone companion of the ſpectred night,
I wake amid thy friendly watchful light,
To ſteal a precious hour from lifeleſs ſleep—
Hark, the wild uproar of the winds! and hark,
Hell's genius roams the regions of the dark,
And ſwells the thund'ring horrors of the deep.
From cloud to cloud the pale moon hurrying flies;
Now blacken'd, and now flaſhing through her ſkies.
But all is ſilence here—beneath thy beam,
I own I labour for the voice of praiſe—
For who would ſink in dull Oblivion's ſtream?
Who would not live in ſongs of diſtant days?
Thus while I wond'ring pauſe o'er Shakeſpeare's page,
I mark, in viſions of delight, the Sage,
High o'er the wrecks of man, who ſtands ſublime;
A Column in the melancholy Waſte,
(Its cities humbled, and its glories paſt)
Majeſtic, 'mid the ſolitude of Time.
Yet now to ſadneſs let me yield the hour—
Yes, let the tears of pureſt friendſhip ſhow'r.
I view, alas! what ne'er ſhould die,
A form that wakes my deepeſt ſigh;
A form, that feels of Death the leaden ſleep—
Deſcending to the realms of ſhade,
I view a pale-ey'd panting maid;
I ſee the Virtues o'er their fav'rite weep.
Ah! could the Muſe's ſimple pray'r
Command the envied trump of Fame,
Oblivion ſhould Eliza ſpare;
A world ſhould echo with her name.
Art thou departing too, my trembling friend?
Ah! draws thy little luſtre to its end?
Yes, on thy frame, Fate too ſhall fix her ſeal—
O let me, penſive, watch thy pale decay;
How faſt that frame, ſo tender, wears away!
How faſt thy life the reſtleſs minutes ſteal!
How ſlender now, alas! thy thread of fire!
Ah, falling, falling, ready to expire!
In vain thy ſtruggles—all will ſoon be o'er—
At life thou ſnatcheſt with an eager leap:
Now round I ſee thy flame ſo feeble creep,
Faint, leſ'ning, quiv'ring, glimm'ring—now no more!
Thus ſhall the ſuns of ſcience ſink away,
And thus of Beauty fade the faireſt flow'r—
For where's the Giant who to Time ſhall ſay,
'Deſtructive Tyrant, I arreſt thy pow'r?'

A BED.

By Lady Melbourne.

Extracted from the Album of Lady Eſſex, at Caſhiobury Park.

FORM'D long ago, yet MADE to-day,
Moſt employ'd when others ſleep;
What few will dare to GIVE AWAY,
Yet none can wiſh to KEEP!

HIS-

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

POLAND.

Warſaw, Nov. 7. This city wears the appearance of a town taken by aſſault. Night and day the ſtreets are filled with picquets of Ruſſian cavalry, and their numerous infantry divided into patroles. Cannons are placed at various outlets in the public ſquares. On the outſide of the city, the great artillery ſeem to menace it with ruin.

Inſtead of 3000 Ruſſians who were to come here, we have 7000 of the barbarians, and yet they do not think themſelves ſafe.

The two united confederations often addreſs the *good citizens*, exhorting them to *peace* and *concord*, and they have even gone ſo far as to employ Stanſlaus as the negotiator between the new tyrants of the republic and the unhappy Polanders.

It is in vain that the Ruſſians have doubled their numbers, and diſbanded our volunteers. There is formed among us a patriotic aſſociation—they have taken the honourable and perilous oath, that born freemen, they will die unſhackled.

The numerous Ruſſian hords threaten us with famine.

FRANCE.

In the Aſſembly, Sept. 12, a letter was read from M. Petion, ſtating, that the capital was ſtill calm; that the ſtorms which had lately agitated it ſeemed to be at an end; that the people were intent only on the defence of their country; that there were men in abundance, and that arms only were wanting.

Decreed, "That fathers and mothers whoſe ſons are abſent ſhall be bound to prove before their municipality, that their ſons are in ſome other part of France, or dead, or employed abroad in the ſervice of the nation, or in trade.

That fathers and mothers who cannot give the proofs required by the preceding article, ſhall pay for equipping and arming two men, and pay 15 ſous per day for each ſon abſent. The expence of arming and equipping to be rated by the municipalty, and paid into the treaſury of the diſtrict.

That in execution of the ſecond article, the municipal officers, on pain of removal, ſhall tranſmit to the adminiſtration of the diſtricts a liſt of the fathers and mothers who have not given in the proofs required."

The Aſſembly decreed, That the ſtaff-officers of all the frontier towns ſhould be diſmiſſed.

M. Gonjon moved, That people who do not reſide in the place where their property is ſituated, ſhould be obliged to give in a certificate every two months of their reſiding in the kingdom—Decreed.

Paris, Sept. 13. At Lyons the people lately aſſembled in a moſt tumultuous manner, and proceeding to the caſtle of Pierre-Sciſe, and to the other priſons of that city, ſacrificed a great number of nonjuring prieſts, as well as other priſoners detained in them for various offences.

Sept. 15. The following extract from the decree of the ſection of Poiſſonniers in Paris, will ſhew the reſpect entertained for the Scriptures by the Pariſians:

"*To the Citizens*, Subſtitute ſongs of liberty for the abſurd hymns aſcribed to that ferocious David—that crowned monſter—that Nero of the Hebrews, whoſe leaſt crime was his having aſſaſſinated a huſband, in order that he might ſleep more conveniently with his wife. We ſhall then unite with you in celebrating together that God who imprinted on the heart of man that inſtinct which excites in him the love of liberty."

The populace, after having exhauſted their ſanguinary fury by repeated murders and maſſacres, continue to ſhew their contempt for the laws, juſtice, and conſtituted authorities, by the moſt open and barefaced acts of rapacity and robbery. Yeſterday morning great numbers of them diſperſed themſelves all over the city, and tore the pendants from the ears of the ladies, and ſeized upon the watches, buckles, and jewels of every perſon they met, under a pretence of the neceſſity of their country.

Sept. 17. Laſt night a ſet of daring depredators and ruffians collected and broke open the garde meubles of the Crown, or what in England is called the jewel-office, where all the *regalia*, &c. are kept, and ſtole all the jewels, &c. to the amount of ſix millions of livres. Only two of the robbers have been apprehended, who prove to be thieves liberated by the mob on the 2d inſtant, when the other priſoners were maſſacred. The miniſter for the home department, in ſtating this great robbery to the Aſſembly, ſeems to conſider it as connected with other crimes now in agitation, and remarks, that the jewels taken will furniſh enough to pay for a long time the partizans of rapine, murder, and proſcription.

With ſuch a panic were the French ſtruck upon a report of M. Dillon's advanced guard being cut to pieces, that Dumourier broke up his camp; and ſeven regiments, upon the appearance of a body of Pruſſians, moſt diſgracefully fled. The following letter from the general to the miniſter of war, ſhews what the combined forces might have done had they taken advantage of this uncommon panic:

"Be under no uneaſineſs. The enemy contented themſelves with collecting the fruits of the blunder of our army. This blunder is at preſent known. The army have teſtified to me the happieſt confidence. The ſoldiers are in good order, and diſplay great cour-

courage. What happened was not a retreat: it was the flight of ten thouſand men before fifteen hundred. Had theſe 1500 puſhed their point, they would have routed the whole army. This will not happen again. Beurnonville has joined me with 10,000 men. I can ſtill anſwer for the ſafety of my country. I am going to inflict ſevere puniſhment: I ſhall ſend you back the battalions who abandoned their guns. I would rather have 10,000 men leſs, and have no cowards with me. I have already diſarmed, and driven from the camp, 14 fugitives. I ſhall do the ſame with regard to certain officers. This army muſt be cleared of bad ſoldiers, before it can be made worthy to ſupport the cauſe of liberty.—This flight happened on Sept. 14.

Paris, Sept. 21. Three hundred and ſeventy-one deputies, aſſembled in one of the halls of the palace of the Thuilleries, after having verified their *proces-verbals*, which prove their elections, declared that the National Convention was conſtituted.

They then proceeded to the nomination of a Preſident. M. Petion obtained that honour with almoſt unanimity of ſuffrages.

M. Petion, the preſident, cauſed the *proces-verbal* of the proceedings of the National Convention, in conſtituting themſelves, to be read.

Theſe were read by *M. Camus*, one of the ſecretaries, and the form approved. The other ſecretaries are, Meſſ. Condorcet, Vergniaud, Briſſot, Lafource, and Rabout de Sainte-Etienne.

A long debate now took place reſpecting two propoſitions made by Meſſ. Manuel and Mathieu. The former, after having ſaid that the National Convention ought to ſhew itſelf to all France an aſſembly of philoſophers and friends to mankind, moved, "that the preſident, whom he called *the preſident of France*, ſhould reſide in the National Palace; that he ſhould be always preceded by the badges of the law; and that, when he entered the hall, the people ſhould always honour the National Sovereignty, repreſented in his perſon, by riſing up." The latter moved, "that the Convention, inveſted with the ſovereignty of the people, ſhould begin its proceedings by a grand act of that ſovereignty." "It muſt," ſaid he, "annihilate in their name all thoſe authorities which ſubſiſt in the empire, in order that the power may revert to the people."

After various propoſitions, which occaſioned ſome debate, the following, preſented by *M. Chenier*, was decreed by the Convention:

"The National Convention declare, that there can be no conſtitution but that which is accepted by the people. They declare alſo, that perſons and property are under the protection of the law; that they will afterwards concert the mode which the French people at large ſhall purſue, to manifeſt their opinion reſpecting that conſtitution which ſhall be preſented to them."

It was then moved, "that the National Convention ſhould expreſsly declare, that all the authorities, at preſent in the exerciſe of their functions, ſhall be proviſionally maintained until further orders."

This occaſioned ſome debate; and at laſt the principle of the motion was decreed in the following words:

1. Thoſe laws which have not been abrogated, and thoſe powers which have not been ſuſpended, ſhall be proviſionally preſerved and ſupported.

2. The taxes actually exiſting ſhall be collected as formerly.

The convention was about to terminate the ſitting, when M. *Collot d' Herbois*, ſtarting up, cried out, "There is one declaration which ought not to be deferred even till the evening—it is, *the eternal abolition of royalty in France.*"

The deputies all roſe up, and demanded that it might be put to the vote.

M. Bazire exclaimed againſt the enthuſiaſm which had taken poſſeſſion of their minds, and requeſted that a queſtion of ſuch magnitude ſhould be debated with that calmneſs and dignity becoming the repreſentatives of a great people.

"The National Aſſembly decree, that royalty is aboliſhed in France."

Sept. 22. After reading the proceedings of laſt night, the Convention decreed,

1. That all public acts ſhall be dated, "The firſt year of the French republic."

2. That the ſtate ſeal ſhall be changed, and have for legend, "French republic."

3. That the national ſeal ſhall repreſent a woman ſitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it; and on the exergue, "Archives of the French republic."

4. That petitioners ſhall not be admitted to the bar but during the evening ſittings.

The following reſolutions were then made:

1. That all citizens of the republic, without diſtinction, are eligible to vacant places.

2. All the members of adminiſtration, and of judiciary bodies, now in the exerciſe of their functions, ſhall be changed.

After a variety of obſervations from other members, the Convention decreed,

"That all judges may be choſen without diſtinction from among the citizens."

Many members having accuſed Gen. Montеſquiou, it was decreed he ſhould be deprived of his command of the ſouthern army.

A letter from Gen. Dumourier was read. He ſays, "after making an attack for eight hours on the poſt of Gen. Kellerman, the Pruſſians, who loſt many men, continued their march on the left. I ſhall follow [illegible]

enemy, and if they advance towards Rheims ſhall hem them in."

On Sept. 24. another letter from Dumourier was read, ſtating, that he was advant geouſly poſted; that the enemy could not hold out above a few days, as they were in want of every thing; but that he had evacuated Chalons by way of precaution.

The miniſter of war announced, that Gen. Monteſquiou had entered Savoy on the 19th.

The Convention decreed, That the French Republic no longer ackrowledges Princes, and the Convention, in conſequence, ſuppreſſes all *appanages*.

Sept. 25. A decree was paſſed, that in the formula of oaths, the word *Republic* ſhould be uſed inſtead of *Nation*.

There was much perſonal animoſity in the Convention. Merlin, Danton, Couthon, and others, accuſed Robertpierre, Marat, &c. of forming a party, with a view of ruling over and ruining the Convention; and it was aſſerted, that it was their view to make Robertpierre *Dictator*. Robertpierre in reply denied the charge, but was heard with murmurs; he was not, however, half ſo violent as Marat; who told the Convention, if they attempted to ſet themſelves above the people, the people would tear their decrees; one of the members moved, that he ſhould be impeached, after having been expelled the Houſe. The motion however, was not ſeconded, and it dropt. Marat then went to the Tribune, pulled a piſtol from his pocket, applied it to his temples, and bellowed out, "Had you expelled me, I ſhould have blown out my brains in your preſence."

It was propoſed that the pain of death ſhould be inflicted againſt the perſon who ſhould aſpire to the Dictatorſhip; but the order of the day was called for. The Aſſembly, however, reſolving to deſtroy every idea of dividing France into a number of petty ſtates, declared the Republic to be indiviſible.

Sept. 27. After a ſhort debate, the Convention decreed, 1. That the penſions granted by the Conſtituent Aſſembly to prieſts without functions, ſhould be ſuppreſſed. 2. From this decree all prieſts above 50 years of age are excepted: but their penſions ſhall not exceed 1000 livres per annum. 3. The *maximum* to be granted to all ſecular and regular prieſts, not public functionaries, ſhall be 1000 livres, which ſhall not be paid until due.

M. Manuel propoſed to ſuppreſs entirely all clerical eſtabliſhments; but the members on all ſides cried out, *The time is not yet come.*

Sept. 28. A letter was read from General Monteſquiou, ſtating that he had taken Chamberry, and drove the hoſtile armies, before him, who did not dare to wait his approach. He ſtates the booty in ammunition, ſalt, wheat, &c. to be very large, that the people received the French with open arms; that they hoped to form an 84th department of France; and he truſted that in a few days he ſhould be maſter of all the country from Geneva to Mount Cenis.

The execution of the decree diſmiſſing Gen. Monteſquiou was ſuſpended.

The country of Savoy being now entirely conquered, a member propoſed to form it into the 84th department.

Lacroix. You have entered into Savoy, in order to give liberty to the inhabitants, and not to conquer them. Above all things, you ought to be cautious never to put that country into the hands of its ancient oppreſſors. I propoſe, therefore, that the above motion be referred to a committee.

Louvet. It could never enter into the mind of any republican, that we ſhould enter Savoy in order to deliver it up hereafter to the ſpoilers and oppreſſors who have tyrannized over the inhabitants; far leſs can we take poſſeſſion of this duchy in our own name; for we have conſecrated it as a ſolemn principle, that we ſhall never make any conqueſts, nor violate the ſovereignty of any people. I affirm it to be good policy to avow, that we intend to deliver nations from the oppreſſion of their tyrants; and that we will never force the inhabitants of a conquered country to receive laws from us. Let us declare, therefore, that the moment we have chaſed the cohorts of deſpotiſm, we ſhall do every thing in our power in order to allow the people to aſſemble, and enact laws for themſelves.

Lacroix. Who is to indemnify us for the expences of the war?

Louvet. The reflection that we have given liberty, and conſequently happineſs, to mankind, will be ſufficient indemnification. This principle will occaſion the deſpair of tyrants, who ſhall no longer calumniate you, by ſaying that your renunciation of conqueſts is a fiction. In combating deſpotiſm, you will convince the world that you yourſelves are not deſpots. Proclaim, then, this principle—that, inſtead of forcing nations to adopt your laws, you will guarantee their independence by force of arms [*plaudits*].

Danton. I move, that this propoſition be referred to the military and diplomatic committees. The principle of leaving conquered people and countries the right of chuſing their own conſtitution, ought to be ſo far modified, that we ſhould expreſsly forbid them to give themſelves Kings. *There muſt be no more kings in Europe. One king would be ſufficient to endanger the general liberty;* and I requeſt that a committee may be eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of promoting *a general inſurrection among all people againſt kings.*—[*Applauded*]—The propoſition was referred to the propoſed committees.

M. Rabaud read the following letter from Dr Prieſtley to the electoral aſſembly of the department of l'Orne, which had elected him

him as their deputy to the National Convention.

"*Sept.* 21.—*Fourth Year of Liberty.* SIR, I have juſt received, and conſider as a very diſtinguiſhed honour, the invitation of your department to ſit in the approaching National Convention of France. Such an office is certainly, at this time, of the utmoſt importance on the theatre of the world; as the peace and happineſs, not only of your country, but of all Europe, and perhaps of the whole human race, are very particularly intereſted in every thing which may be decided in that Aſſembly; but my imperfect knowledge of your language, local circumſtances, and the important duties of my preſent ſituation, prevent my accepting your invitation. Beſides, my ſtudies having been principally directed towards philoſophy and theology, and not particularly towards legiſlation, little could be expected from me in reſpect to that ſcience: but, in every caſe in which my abilities will permit me to advance an opinion of any weight, it ſhall always be at their ſervice, through the medium of my friend and correſpondent, François, who is alſo choſen a member of the Conventional Aſſembly.

As a miniſter of religion, the object of my moſt earneſt deſires is your happineſs. I ſincerely pray, that the Supreme Being, the Father and Friend of Mankind, whoſe providence directs all events, may deſtroy the machinations of your enemies, and put an end to the troubles with which you are now agitated; and may he give ſpeedy and happy eſtabliſhment of your affairs!

I offer up this prayer both as a Frenchman and an Engliſhman, ſince we have at length made the happy diſcovery, ſo long kept a ſecret only by the ambition of courts, that France and England (neighbouring nations) have an equal intereſt in being friends with each other. Yours, &c. J. PRIESTLEY."

Several reports were in circulation, of Gen. Dumourier being defeated; and it was ſaid in the London papers of Oct. 2. that diſpatches were received from the Earl of Elgin, at Bruſſels, which ſtate, that juſt as the mail was departing, information had arrived at Bruſſels of the moſt important kind.

That the Duke of Brunſwick had taken Chalons on the 22d of September;

That General Clairfait had taken Rheims on the 24th; and

That on the 25th the combined armies had, by a dextrous manœuvre, completely ſurrounded the army of General Dumourier; that the General had in vain ſolicited permiſſion for his army to march to Paris, abandoning their artillery, tents, ammunition, and proviſions; and that the Duke of Brunſwick had inſiſted that they ſhould lay down their arms, to which at length they had been obliged to ſubmit, and that 25,000 men had accordingly laid down their arms.

That on the 26th, the triumphant army of the invaders were advanced to Meaux, within twelve leagues of Paris.

Theſe reports however ſoon appeared to be unfounded.

In the National Convention, Oct. 1. the following letter from the miniſter of foreign affairs was read.

"I announced that overtures for a negotiation had been made in the name of the King of Pruſſia to General Dumourier. I mentioned at the ſame time the deciſion of the executive power, which ordered the generals to liſten to no propoſals until the armies of deſpots had firſt evacuated the land of liberty. The propoſals of the King of Pruſſia were however remarkable, as they contained a preciſe acknowledgement of the national authority, and of the quality of repreſentative of the nation in external relations which had been attached formerly to the political exiſtence of the conſtitutional king. Another acknowledgement, no leſs remarkable, was, that the ancient order of things, deſtroyed by the will of the nation ſince 1789, was contrary to the happineſs of the people.

Such an unexpected acknowledgement, ſpontaneouſly made without any previous negotiation, might incline us to think that the enemy's armies are in the greateſt diſtreſs. There are, however, other motives equally preſſing, which make them think of peace—a kind of truce was agreed upon—Gen. Dumourier took advantage of it to collect, and properly diſpoſe, the different bodies which were to be joined to his army. He made, in quietneſs and with ſilence, all thoſe movements which were neceſſary to give him a ſuperiority by his ſituation, and to confine the enemy in theirs. While he was thus preparing for his military plans, frequent communications, which could not but be advantageous to liberty, were eſtabliſhed between the two armies. General Dumourier embraced this opportunity of exchanging priſoners of war. The cartel agreed on with the Pruſſian generals was formed according to the laws decreed by the National Aſſembly. The emigrant priſoners were not included in it, and the Duke of Brunſwick did not even perſiſt in a remonſtrance, which he had made in their favour.

A conference on this occaſion took place between the Duke of Brunſwick, Count de Luchefini, miniſter of the King of Pruſſia, and Lieut. Col. Adj. Gen. Thouvenot, who was charged with conducting the exchange of priſoners. In this conference the Duke of Brunſwick expreſſed himſelf almoſt in the following terms:

"Our nations are not formed to be enemies: might not ſome means be deviſed for

accommodating matters in an amicable manner? We are in your country: it is defolated by the inevitable misfortunes of war; we know that we have no right to prevent a nation from giving itself laws, and from tracing out its internal government—we do not wish it—we are only interested for the fate of the King. Assure us, that a place will be assigned to him, in the new order of things, under any denomination whatever, and his Majesty the King of Prussia will return to his own states, and become your ally."

The moderation of this language from a man who signed the manifestos already published, and to which the contempt of the French nation has done ample justice, must appear surprising.

Lieut. Col. Thouvenot, replied, "that the will of the French republic would not yield to any foreign influence; and that the representatives of the nation, to whom the valuable deposit of its honour and glory was particularly intrusted, would continually persist in maintaining decrees which had been sanctioned by general opinion."

The Duke of Brunswick terminated the conference, by saying, that he would transmit to General Dumourier a memorial upon the subject. This memorial is a third manifesto, worthy in every thing of the two former. General Dumourier received it with indignation, in which we shared, and which must also be excited in the National Convention, and in all France.

It was immediately announced, that the truce was broken, and letters from the General, written in a style suited to a man honoured with the noble employment of conducting Frenchmen to victory, procured an answer from the King of Prussia's Aid-du Camp, stating that the intentions of the King, and of the Duke of Brunswick, had been misunderstood; that a new conference was demanded; and that the Royal and Imperial armies would not be the first to break the truce. General Dumourier refused to consent to any new conference, or any delay in the operations of the campaign, unless the memorial of the Duke of Brunswick should be first annulled."

The following copy of the declaration or memorial of the Duke of Brunswick, referred to in the above letter, was then read by Brissot:

"When their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, in entrusting me with the command of the armies which these two allied Sovereigns caused to march into France, rendered me the agent of their intentions, published in the two declarations of the 25th and 27th of July 1792, their Majesties were far from supposing that such scenes of horror could take place, as those which preceded and paved the way for the imprisonment of their Majesties, the King and Queen of France, and their Royal Family."—[*Murmurs.*]

Brissot. I must observe, that General Dumourier returned no answer to this manifesto, but caused it to be printed and distributed in his army; and the good effect of it was experienced in augmenting the courage and indignation of the soldiers. I therefore proceed with the reading of it. "Such crimes, an example of which can scarcely be found in the history of less polished nations, were not the utmost boundary, which the audacity of some factious men, who had rendered the people of Paris the blind instruments of their wills, prescribed to their criminal ambition. The suspension of the King, and of all the functions which had been reserved to him by that very constitution, which has so long been declared to be the will of the whole nation, was the last crime of the National Assembly, which brought upon France the two terrible scourges of war and anarchy." [*New murmurs.*]

Brissot. I request at least the silence of pity. "There is one step more only to be taken, in order to perpetuate them, and the spirit of infatuation, the fatal forerunner of the fall of empires, will soon precipitate those who assume to themselves the title of deputies chosen by the nation to secure its rights and its happiness upon the most solid basis. The first decree which their assembly passed was, the abolition of royalty in France, and the voice of a small number of individuals, some of whom even were foreigners, assumed to themselves the right of balancing the opinion of fourteen generations who have filled the fourteen centuries of the existence of the French monarchy. This step, at which the real enemies of France ought to rejoice, if they could suppose that it would have a lasting effect, is directly opposite to the firm resolution which their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia have taken, and from which these two allied Sovereigns will never depart, of restoring to his Most Christian Majesty, liberty, safety, and royal dignity, or of exercising just and exemplary vengeance against those who shall longer dare to infringe them.

For these reasons, the undersigned declares to the French nation in general, and to each individual in particular, that their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, invariably attached to the principle of not intermeddling with the interior government of France, nevertheless persist in requiring that his Most Christian Majesty, as well as the whole Royal Family, shall be immediately set at liberty by those who detain them prisoners.

Their Majesties insist also, that the royal dignity in France shall be immediately re-established in the person of Louis XVI. and of his successors (*loud bursts of laughter*), and that such

ſuch meaſures may be purſued as may ſecure that dignity from inſults ſimilar to thoſe to which it has been lately expoſed. If the French nation has not entirely loſt ſight of its true intereſts, and, if free in its reſolutions, it wiſhes to put a ſpeedy end to the calamities of a war, which ſubjects ſo many provinces to all the evils that follow in the train of armies, it will not delay a moment to declare its opinion in favour of the peremptory demand I now addreſs to it in the name of their Majeſties the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia; and which, if refuſed, will immediately bring upon a once flouriſhing kingdom new and more terrible diſaſters.

The courſe which the French nation may adopt in conſequence of this declaration, will either extend and perpetuate the fatal effects of an unhappy war, by deſtroying, in the ſuppreſſion of royalty, the means of re-eſtabliſhing and maintaining the ancient connections between France and the ſovereigns of Europe—or will open negotiations for the eſtabliſhment of peace, order, and tranquillity; which thoſe who aſſume to themſelves the title of depoſitaries of the will of the nation are the moſt intereſted to reſtore as ſpeedily as they are neceſſary to that kingdom.

(Signed)

CHARLES FREDERIC *Duke of* BRUNSWICK.

Head-Quarters General at Hans,

Sept. 28. 1792."

Oct. 2. Letters were read from the commiſſioners ſent to Chalons, ſtating, that all negotiation having ceaſed, the Pruſſians had haſtily broke up their camp; that their army was reduced to one half by ſickneſs, and that the French were preſſing cloſe upon them. The following letter from Gen. Dumourier to the miniſter at war was alſo read:

"*St Menehould, Oct.* 1. At length, my dear Servan, what I expected and predicted in my letters has taken place. The Pruſſians are in full retreat. The brave Beurnonville, who has been ſtyled "the French Ajax," has taken from them, during the laſt two days, more than four hundred men, fifty waggons, and above two hundred horſes. All the priſoners and deſerters agree, that this army is exhauſted by famine, fatigue, and the bloody flux. The enemy decamp every night, and march only two leagues in the 24 hours to cover their baggage and heavy artillery. I have ſent a reinforcement to Beurnonville, who has more than 20,000 men, and who will never quit them till he has exterminated them. To give the finiſhing blow to this buſineſs, I ſhall join him in perſon. I have ſent you ſome copies of my negotiation, which I have cauſed to be printed, becauſe the commander of an army of free men ought to ſuffer no ſuſpicions to exiſt reſpecting his conduct with the enemy. I think that the preſent circumſtance will deliver us from the ſcourge of war, and as I told you before, if I remember right, I hope, provided you have confidence in me, to eſtabliſh my winter-quarters at Bruſſels. You may therefore aſſure the auguſt aſſembly of the ſovereign people, that I ſhall never ſeek for repoſe, until it ſhall be put out of the power of tyrants to do us any hurt.—I embrace you.

"DUMOURIER."

A memorial from Gen. Dumourier to the King of Pruſſia was then read. In it the French General intimates to the King of Pruſſia, with what ſcorn the manifeſtos of the Duke of Brunſwick were received by the whole nation, and that words are not the weapons to conquer a free people with. He afterwards points out to the King of the Pruſſians what advantages would reſult to both people from an alliance which both are worthy of, and preſſes him, in the name of his glory, of his intereſt, and that of his army, to abandon the deſpicable cauſe of the Auſtrians and the emigrants. This memorial met with great applauſe.

Oct. 3. A letter was read from the war miniſter, requeſting permiſſion to return to his native country for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health, the ill ſtate of which rendered it impoſſible for him to continue his functions. He alſo wiſhed the Aſſembly to inform him to which of his colleagues he was to deliver up his *porte-feuille*. The Convention decreed, that a miniſter ſhould be elected that day.

The Convention immediately proceeded to the appoinment of a war-miniſter, when the citizen Pache was elected, having 441 votes out of 560.

Thurſday 4. On the motion of M. Manuel, the Convention decreed, that the battalions of all the national guards and troops of the line ſhould have for a legend *Republique Françoiſe*.

The Convention proceeded to the election of a new preſident by vote; the number of voters was 460, of whom 312 voted for *Lacroix*. Seyes, Buzot, and Guadet, were then choſen ſecretaries.

A letter was read from Gen. Cuſtine to Gen. Biron, informing him, that agreeably to the plan concerted between them, he had, on the 30th of September, attacked Spire. Before it he found 4000 Auſtrians and troops of Mayence. Theſe he attacked, and forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. He afterwards ſtormed the gates, entered the place, and repulſed the Auſtrians on all ſides, who, however, kept up for ſome time a dreadful fire from the houſes. They at length thought proper to fly. He however purſued them, and overtook them at the Rhine, where they laid down their arms. They took on this occaſion a great number of colours, ſtandards, cannons, and howitzers, and 3000 priſoners, beſides a great

number

number killed in Spire. The magazines which he found in the place, are immenſe. Col. Hachard has alſo executed the charge he was entruſted with, and has taken 400 priſoners. This letter is dated from Spire, Sept. 30.

Oct. 4. The twenty-four members appointed to examine the late denunciations of the committee of ſuperintendance of the city of Paris have declared, 1. That every charge relative to the King is proved.—2. That no charge relative to the venality of the Legiſlative Aſſembly is ſubſtantiated. And 3. That there is full evidence that many of the unfortunate men impriſoned by the committee, and butchered during the late riots, were innocent.

Oct. 6. A letter was read from Gen. Cuſtine, dated from Spire, Oct. 2. ſtating, that on account of the exceſſes committed by ſome of his corps, he had been under the ſad neceſſity of making an example, to prevent the extenſion of them, and to preſerve the city of Spire from deſtruction. He had, in conſequence, cauſed a captain, two officers, and a company, to be ſhot. This dreadful example, which was the only means of ſaving the honour of the French nation, had met with the approbation of the whole army, and order was now reſtored. He requeſted the war miniſter to communicate this affair to the National Convention, who, he made no doubt, would approve of the motives by which he had been actuated. In another letter he ſays, that he had levied a contribution of 450,000 livres on the canons and Biſhop of Spire, ſtaunch friends of the emigrants.

Oct. 8. Diſpatches from Gen. Anſelme gave an account of his taking poſſeſſion of Nice, and the fortreſs of Montalban.

A petition from the ſection of Paris called the Gravilliers, demanded the ſpeedy judgement of the King, and complained of ſeveral decrees of the Convention. The Preſident, in return, informed them, that the right to petition was certainly ſacred, but they ſhould not forget the reſpect due to the repreſentatives of the people.

M. Buzot, in the name of the military committee, after a very able ſpeech, propoſed the following project of a decree, which was immediately adopted:

"Each department ſhall ſend, for the guard of the National Convention and public depoſits, four times as many infantry, and twice as many cavalry, as they have deputies at the Convention, which will amount to 4470 men. They are to receive the ſame pay as the National *Gens d' Armes* at Paris, and are to be choſen by the councils-general of the departments. Their commander is to be appointed by the National Convention."

The Convention afterwards proceeded to the appointment of a miniſter of juſtice, when the Citizen Francis of Nueſchateau, was elected.

9. The Convention, on the motion of M. Gaude, decreed, that, agreeably to the law which pronounces ſentence of death againſt emigrants taken with arms in their hands, they ſhall be put to death in the ſpace of 24 hours after they have been declared guilty by a military committee, compoſed of five perſons appointed by the ſtaff-officers of the army. All ſtrangers, who, ſince the 14th of July, 1789, have quitted the ſervice of France, and entered into that of the enemy, will be ſerved in the ſame manner. The different powers at war are alſo to be reſponſible for every violation of the right of nations, which, by a falſe application of the rights of repriſal, may be committed by the French emigrants.

10. A letter was read from the war miniſter, informing the Aſſembly, that the French reſident at Geneva had remitted to the republic a note agreeably to the inſtructions which he had received. The council-general had returned for anſwer, that the meaſure which they had taken was lawful, in conſequence of the entrance of foreign troops into Savoy; that they would abide by their reſolution, which was the deſire of all Geneva, and reſiſt every attempt on their independence. This anſwer had been followed by the arrival of the troops of Zurich and Berne in Geneva. In conſequence of this the French reſident, without taking leave, on the 4th inſt. after remitting an expoſtulatory note, quitted Geneva. The executive council, however, have ordered Gen. Monteſquiou not to employ force, but ſtill, in concert with the reſident, to try the effect of remonſtrances.

Oct. 9. By a letter from Gen. Cuſtine, dated, Spire, Oct. 5. it appears, that he has taken poſſeſſion of Worms, and has demanded a contribution of 1,200,000 livres, from the chapter, the Biſhops, and the magiſtrates.

Oct. 11. Gen. Dumourier writes to the Convention, that four Pruſſian deſerters, who were deſirous of entering into the ſervice of the republic, had been cut to pieces by two battalions of the federates of Paris. The General's orders in conſequence were, that theſe two battalions ſhould be ſurrounded by the army, and forced to lay down their arms, ſtandards, and uniforms.—That they ſhould be forced to deliver up the criminals who committed the inhuman maſſacre at Rhetel, who, under an eſcort of 100 men, ſhould conduct them to Paris, and deliver them up to the National Convention. That the reſt of the battalions ſhould be broken—their arms and habits laid up in the military ſtore, and their colours ſent back to their diſtricts, to be by them confided to men more worthy to bear them.—This meaſure was highly applauded by the Convention.

Official accounts were this day received of the

the ſiege of Liſle being raiſed, the fire and attacks of the Auſtrians having ceaſed.

Gen. Dillon has been denounced by the violent republicans in the Convention as a traitor. He had captured a Lieutenant of the Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, and ſent him with a letter to his Highneſs, informing him of the determination of the French to have a new government; that as his Highneſs could have no right to interfere therein, though he had ſent his troops into France, yet if he would immediately withdraw them, they ſhould retreat unmoleſted by him. There were great murmurs in the Convention when this letter was read—numbers cried out for the immediate accuſation of the general; but the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs was ſuſpended until they could learn the opinion of the executive council.

The committee of conſtitution, to whom the great work of modelling the French government is to be conſigned, conſiſts of the following members, Seyes, Briſſot, Vergniaux, Barere, Petion, Gennſonne, Thomas Paine, Danton, and Condorcet.

Oct. 12. The Convention has decreed, that the citizens and garriſon of Liſle deſerved the praiſe of their country.

Gen. Dumourier having requeſted leave to come and preſent his reſpects to the Convention, which being granted, he appeared at the bar, accompanied by ſeveral of his ſtaff-officers, and delivered the following ſpeech.

"Citizens—Legiſlators! Liberty is every where triumphant; guided by philoſophy, it will overſpread the univerſe, and it will eſtabliſh itſelf on all thrones, after having cruſhed deſpotiſm, and enlightened the people.

The conſtitutional laws which you are about to frame will form the baſis of the happineſs and fraternity of nations. This war will be the laſt, and tyrants and privileged orders, miſtaken in their criminal calculations, will be the ſole victims in this ſtruggle of arbitrary power againſt reaſon. The army which the confidence of the nation entruſted to my command, have deſerved well of their country. Reduced, when I joined them on the 28th of Auguſt, to 17,000 men, and diſorganized by traitors, whom puniſhment and ſhame every where purſue, they were neither intimidated by the number, diſcipline, threats, barbarity, nor firſt ſucceſſes of 80,000 ſatellites of deſpotiſm. The defiles of the foreſt of Argon were the Thermopylæ, where this handful of ſoldiers of liberty made a reſpectable reſiſtance for 15 days to that formidable army. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were ſupported by two armies, animated by the ſame ſpirit, whom we joined at the impregnable camp of St Menehould. The enemy, in deſpair, wiſhed to attempt an attack, which adds a new victory to the military career of my colleague and friend Kellerman.

In the camp of St Menehould, the ſoldiers of liberty diſplayed other military virtues, without which courage even may be hurtful—confidence in their chiefs, obedience, patience, and perſeverance. That part of the Republic conſiſts of a dry ſoil, deſtitute of wood and water. The Germans will remember it; their impure blood will perhaps fertilize theſe barren plains, which are now drenched with it. The ſeaſon was uncommonly rainy and cold; our ſoldiers were badly cloathed; were deſtitute of ſtraw to lie upon; had no covering, and remained ſometimes two days without bread, becauſe the poſition of the enemy obliged our convoys to take a long circuit by croſs roads, which are very bad at all ſeaſons, and which were then ſpoiled by the long rains; for I muſt do juſtice to the purveyors of proviſions and forage, who, notwithſtanding all the obſtacles of bad roads, wet weather, and the ſecret movements which I was obliged to conceal from them, ſupplied us with abundance, as far as was poſſible; and I am happy in declaring, that we are indebted to their care for the good health of the ſoldiers [*Applauſes.*] I never heard them murmur. Songs and joy would have made one take this formidable camp for one of thoſe camps of pleaſure, where the luxury of kings formerly collected embodied automata for the amuſement of their miſtreſſes and children. The ſoldiers of liberty were ſupported by the hope of conqueſt; their fatigues and ſufferings have been rewarded; the enemy have ſunk under famine, miſery, and diſeaſe. This formidable army, diminiſhed one half, has fled. The roads are ſtrewed with the carcaſes of horſes and dead bodies. Kellerman is in purſuit of them with more than 40,000 men, while I ſhall march with a like number to the aſſiſtance of the department of the North, and of the unfortunate and reſpectable Belgians and Liegoiſe.

I have come to ſpend four days here, only for the purpoſe of ſettling with the executive council the plan of the winter campaign. I embrace this opportunity of preſenting my reſpects to you. I ſhall not take any new oath—I ſhall ſhew myſelf worthy of commanding the children of liberty, and to ſupport thoſe laws, which the ſovereign people are going to eſtabliſh for themſelves by you their repreſentatives."—[*Loud applauſes.*]

M. Dumourier having finiſhed, the Preſident told him, that the reception he had met with from the Convention was a proof of their ſatisfaction of his conduct, &c. and invited himſelf and ſuite to the honours of the ſeſſion. M. Dumourier, with his ſuite, was accordingly introduced into the Hall, and depoſited on the table, as did Lieutenant-General Moreton, his military decorations. The Preſident then proceeded to queſtion him touching the letter written by Lieutenant-General Dillon to the Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, and

and what M. Dumourier thought was his deſign in ſo doing? M. Dumourier ſaid, he had received a copy of that letter, but conceived it to be a mere bravado, as two days after he was in ſtrong purſuit of thoſe ſame Heſſians: he therefore thought it of no conſequence.

An Adjutant-General of Dumourier's army afterwards preſented the ſtandard of the Emigrants to the Convention, which they decreed, on the motion of M. Vergniaux, ſhould be publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Oct. 14. A letter was read from the northren commiſſioners, giving accounts of new commotions and murders. They acquainted the Convention, that the national gendarmes of the firſt diviſion having arrived on the 9th at Cambray, proceeded in force to the priſons, and delivered the priſoners, excepting one perſon committed for theft, Canone d' Heſcique, whom the ſecond diviſion beheaded on the ſucceeding day; that the officers of the ſecond free battalion who were in the citadel, having ſhut the gates to prevent their ſoldiers from joining the gendarmes, Col. Beſombre had fallen a victim in attempting to reſtore order, being denounced by the ſoldiers to the gendarmes: he, after being ſtabbed in ſeveral places, had his head cut off. Capt. Legeos had experienced the ſame fate, and his head was carried about ſtuck upon a bayonet. The Mayor was threatened, and eſcaped only by proving that he had acted but in conformity to the law, and the orders of the department.

At Charleville there were ſimilar commotions:—Citizen Jafferot, in endeavouring to preſerve order, was torn from the hands of the Mayor, ſtabbed, and his head was carried on a pole through the town.

On the 16th, a letter was received from the commiſſioners of the army of Kellerman, containing the articles of the capitulation between the Pruſſian General commanding at Verdun and the French General Valence, poſted in its vicinity. By theſe articles, the army of the Pruſſians are to march directly out of the French territory, by the route of Deux Ponts. The French are to provide them with covered waggons for their ſick, horſes, and every other article neceſſary for their ſafe conduct, the Pruſſians paying the ſtipulated price for the ſame.

It is decreed to diſcontinue the works and fortifications round Paris.

The council-general of the community of Paris has paſſed the following decree, relative to the cuſtody of the King and Queen:

"1. Louis and Antoinette ſhall be ſeparated. 2. Each priſoner ſhall have a particular chamber. 3. The valet de chambre of the family ſhall be arreſted. 4. The Citizen Hebert ſhall be added to the five commiſſaries already named. 5. This decree ſhall be put in execution to night, Sept. 29.; the plate of the priſoners ſhall be removed; in ſhort, the council-general gives full power to the commiſſioners to employ all the means which their prudence ſhall preſcribe to them for the ſafety of theſe hoſtages of the conſpiracy of the tyrants coaleſced againſt the liberty of the republic."

The King, when this order was notified to him, deſired to ſee the powers of the commiſſioners. The Queen immediately gave up her pencils; for the family are no longer allowed pen, ink, paper, or pencil. The windows of their apartments are covered with grey paper.

On the final ſeparation of the family, the Queen and Mad. Eliſabeth ſhed tears; the King, claſping both their hands, caſt a kind of ſorrowful look of conſolation from one to the other, as if he laboured to ſay, "The dye is thrown, let us reſign ourſelves."

On his firſt entering the new apartment appropriated to him, he ſeemed much ſatisfied with its commodiouſneſs; but, on turning his eye towards the windows, and obſerving the iron bars and the blinds, he appeared greatly affected, and, with a faultering voice and a look of pale apprehenſion, he ſaid, "The place would be too cloſe and hot, and that he could not think of ſtaying in it." However, he was given to underſtand there was no alternative, and not a word more was exchanged.

The ladies aſked permiſſion to ſee the children, which the commiſſioners thought might be reaſonably granted, but could not promiſe that ſuch an indulgence would be continued. They were informed, however, that they might eat together, but were forbid to hold any inexplicable converſation, or make any ſigns which may be mutually underſtood by each other, and not by thoſe who attend them.

The national fete on occaſion of the capture of Savoy, was celebrated at Paris on Oct. 14. The proceſſion arrived at the place of Louis XV. where the ſtatue of liberty was placed on the pedeſtal which formerly ſupported that of the King. On the eaſt and weſt ſides of the pedeſtal were inſcribed the words, "French Republic, 1792." On the North, "Entry of General Monteſquiou into Savoy." And on the South, "Entry of General Anſelm into the countries of Nice and Montalban." Each ſection furniſhed an hundred armed men, excluſive of the ſergeants and gunners, and four officers. All the commanders of the legions, and two chiefs to each battalion, were preſent.

Copy of an Order of the King of Pruſſia.

"The village of Hans in Champagne has delivered for the Pruſſian army 117 ſheep, the value of which his Majeſty the King of France engages to pay, when his ſacred perſon ſhall be at liberty, and order re-eſtabliſhed in his States. In faith of which I give under

nder the special guarantee of his Majesty the King of Prussia, which may be exchanged for the value of the said provisions in a proper time and place.

(Signed) "THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK
"*September* 29. LUNENBURG."

EAST INDIES.

London, Nov. 3. Advices have been received at the India House, by the Manship East-Indiaman, that Lord Cornwallis's arrangements for carrying the preliminary articles of peace into full effect have been completed.

Tippoo's territory is now completely evacuated by our troops; but we learn with infinite concern, that during the period which elapsed between the preliminaries and the signing of the definitive treaty, very considerable mortality has taken place among our troops.—The badness of the water, some defect in the provisions, and at length a scarcity, brought on fluxes and putrid fevers, by which almost every individual in the camp was more or less affected. They reckon the loss in Europeans only, before the army left Seringapatam, at a complete regiment. The royal artillery has lost one quarter of its effectives, and buried the commanding officer. Nor did their sickness cease on their quitting this fatal ground; the detachments which closed the rear of the army had the affliction of seeing the route of those who had gone before them, marked by the new-dug graves.

The heat of the weather has been peculiarly felt by the troops immediately passing the Ghauts; the thermometer has stood at 108—and at half an hour before sun-rise, when the greatest cold generally happens, was never lower than 92.

The Sepoys in Colonel Cockerel's detachment have suffered very severely from the effect of the heat. Several of them, although much inured to the calenture of the sun, dropped down in their march, and some have experienced the most aggravated symptoms of the *coup de Soleil*.

The royal hostages accompanied the army on its march, but encamped separately. The 19th light dragoons, 73d foot, and a battalion of Bengal volunteers, were assigned as their guard. They generally rode on howdered elephants, in silver pavilions, but had led horses and palanqueens in their train, and were attended by a party of light horse and servants of their father's. They often passed in front of the line, which the youngest prince took much pleasure in narrowly inspecting; but the elder is a very reserved boy, with an appearance of discontent.

Tippoo's sons travel with Lord Cornwallis, and their father begged that his Lordship would keep them with him at all times possible. They are accompanied by their own guard and attendants. An old *Vakeel*, much loved by Tippoo, is constantly at their elbow; the same who was ambassador at Constantinople.

The prize-money is now ascertained; each soldier receives about 5 l. Sterling, a subaltern about 75 l.; little, however, will be saved by the most frugal, as this has been a most expensive campaign. In the end of February, rice was 1 s. a pint, turkies 8 l. Sterling a couple, brandy 5 l. to 6 l. a dozen, and every other refreshment and necessary which was to be procured equally dear. At one time the army fully expected a recommencement of hostilities—the tools were sent to the trenches, pioneers ordered to work, the guns to be remounted, and peace or war hung on the muzzle of a twelve pounder. Tippoo retracted in time, or there is little doubt his capital would soon have been reduced.

The return of the army was a little facilitated, by their being debarrassed of part of their battering train, which was purchased by the Mahrattas.

The garrison of Bangalore quitted it with regret.—It is situated in a most fertile and healthy country; the revenue had increased, and commerce had been extended wonderfully, and had it been retained, this would have proved a most valuable acquisition. The gardens had sprung up well, the rice was in great forwardness; but all is now abandoned.

Tippoo's flag is a very splendid one, crimson sattin; in the centre is embroidered a sun, surrounded by stars. When the definitive treaty was signed, he sent out to our troops, chaldrons of curry, pillace, &c. which the poor soldiers found very acceptable.

The 71st regiment go to Trichinopoly, the royal artillery and 74th regiment to Tanjore and Dindigul.

Few wars bring back now-a-days any advantage to either belligerent power. There is, however, but one opinion in

India on the ſubject of the peace, that it is a very advantageous one.

The Barhamaul country, in particular, proves a more valuable diſtrict than was at firſt thought. Tippoo either could not, or would not, for a long time, produce the rent-rolls of this province, and it is ſaid actually under-rated it at laſt. The ſtrong hill forts in the ceded diſtricts are all given up, and there is now a proſpect of laſting peace in India.

West Indies.

Baſſeterre, Oct 4. A ſquadron of French tranſports, conſiſting of ten or eleven, with about 2200 national troops on board, eſcorted by a frigate, lately arrived at Martinique, but were not ſuffered to land, being ordered away immediately. A part of them put into Montſerrat, and then came here for water and proviſions, being in great diſtreſs for both. They have neither money nor credit. They ſent to Guadaloupe, but were refuſed any kind of aſſiſtance, and forbid, on pain of death, coming there. Thoſe at Montſerrat, with the commodore, have ſince ſailed; but where they are going, we have not been able to learn. Yeſterday a French forty-gun ſhip, and another frigate, anchored in Old Road, and ordered the three tranſports away immediately, with directions to quit theſe ſeas. The preſident ſent an officer on board, to inform the Captain, that they were then under the protection of the Britiſh. He anſwered, "that if they were under the protection of the devil, he would have them." He, however, ſaluted the officer, (Lieut. Hay, of the artillery), both on going and coming, with four guns. In this ſituation matters remained till this morning, when the officers of both parties were to meet the preſident, and ſubmit the whole to his deciſion. The commodore of the French frigate is Malvo, the ſame that threatened laſt war to take the Proſerpine, Capt. Byron, and actually ſailed from Statia for that purpoſe; but was in the end taken himſelf by Capt. Byron, off Montſerrat. He is a native of Guadaloupe. He ſent an inſolent letter to Mr Eſdaile (our preſident) laſt night, threatening to carry off the tranſports; and if the national troops were not delivered up, that, when he got the ſhips to ſea, he would land his troops with field pieces, and put them all to death. He ſaid that a counter-revolution took place in France on Sept. 3. and that he abſolutely muſt have the traitors now landed at Old Road. (They all landed laſt night, in number about 1500.) The former part of his threat he has already put in execution, as he is now ſtanding to windward with all the ſhips. But whether he means to execute the latter, time is to determine. The commander of the troops declared, that, rather than be given up to the frigates, he would kill himſelf, knowing well the conſequences ſhould he fall into their hands. The frigates are manned with a parcel of free-booters of all deſcriptions, picked up as volunteers in Martinique and Guadaloupe.

In conſequence of another meſſage ſent off by Lieut. Hay, M. Malvo has brought-to under Brimſtone hill, and is to come on ſhore to-morrow, to ſhew by what authority he took thoſe ſhips away. General Woodley has given orders to ſupply the French troops here with proviſions, &c.

England.

Accounts from Sierra Leone, of the moſt flattering nature, have been received at the company's houſe. They were brought by the Duke of Savoy, a ſhip chartered to carry out ſtores to the ſettlement. The ſickneſs, which had been fatal to ſo many at the commencement of the rains, had entirely ceaſed, and trade and plantations were making rapid progreſs. Thoſe, on the contrary, who are intereſted in the reſult of the enterprize to Bulam, will be concerned to hear that that plan is entirely defeated. The principal part of the coloniſts have been *maſſacred* by the natives; and thoſe of them who remained alive took refuge among their countrymen at Sierra Leone. Mr Dalrymple, their Governor, is returned to England, by the veſſel which brought this intelligence. The government at Sierra Leone received the unfortunate with much humanity, and a veſſel is fitting out there to bring them back to this country. The maſſacre at Bulam was what gave riſe to the unfounded report of the maſſacre at Sierra Leone ſome days ago.

Bulam is an iſland at the mouth of the Gambia, upon which the natives of the oppoſite ſhore have, from time immemorial, made their annual plantations of rice—conſidering, therefore, the arrival of the new ſettlers as an unjuſt intruſion upon

upon their natural rights, a diſpute aroſe, which has exhibited the above melancholy iſſue.

Portſmouth, Oct. 29. This day at 11 o'clock, Burkett, Elliſon, and Millward, three ſeamen late belonging to the Bounty armed ſhip, were brought on the deck of the Brunſwick for execution, purſuant to their ſentence, and about half paſt eleven the terrible ſignal of death was fired, when they were launched into eternity. They behaved in the moſt penitent and manly manner, embracing each other repeatedly, ſaying, "God bleſs you, God receive you in mercy;" but perſiſted to the laſt moment of their exiſtence, that they were totally innocent of the crime for which they were to ſuffer.

North Shields, Nov 19. It will doubtleſs give pleaſure to the friends of humanity to hear, that the riots of the ſeamen of this port are ended to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties, and without the effuſion of blood.

From the beginning to the end of this buſineſs, the ſhip-owners have obſerved a manly and ſteady conduct, and though convinced that the average wages of this port were higher than at any in the kingdom, at a public meeting held at New caſtle on the occaſion, they agreed to give the ſailors all they at firſt demanded, viz. 3l. per voyage for ſix months, ending March 31. and 50s. for the remaining ſix months; but the ſailors minds had changed, and they then demanded 3l. 3s. the whole year, and during peace.

A meeting of ſhip-owners was convened, in which they came to the following reſolutions.

"Reſolved, That, ſituated as we are, there ſeems no alternative, but that of ſuffering ſuch violent exactions as have been practiſed on us during the laſt *ſix weeks*, until government ſhall cauſe the laws to be reſpected."

R. Burden, Eſq; ſingly, as a magiſtrate, continued to endeavour to bring the deluded ſeamen to a ſenſe of their duty, and the dangers to which they expoſed themſelves by ſuch unwarrantable practices as thoſe in which they had been found.

He promiſed to lay their caſe before parliament, and told them, he did not doubt but before the end of May he ſhould be able to obtain a bill for the purpoſe of regulating their wages. A deputation of ſailors then informed him, they thought the ſhip-owners terms would be accepted, with the addition of 3l. per voyage till May 31. To this the ſhip owners aſſented, from motives of reſpect for Mr Burden, to whom they think themſelves under great obligations. He then left the hall where the meeting of ſhip owners was held, and ſtanding on the ſteps, he ſpoke to the ſailors to the following purport:

"I have prevailed on the ſhip-owners to grant your requeſt; the terms now offered are ſuch as you ought immediately to accept, and be ſatisfied with. Hitherto I have treated you with mildneſs: but remember, this is the laſt time I will addreſs you in this ſtrain, nor will I negotiate any more for you. If, after this, I find you aſſembling together for the purpoſe of boarding and ſtopping ſhips from going to ſea, or ill treating your comrades, I will (though very reluctantly) put on the ſtern countenance of juſtice, and no longer ſuffer order and law to be violated; but I have no wiſh that one hair of your heads ſhould be hurt."

The ſailors then called out, "We agree!" and gave three cheers, which the ſhip-owners returned.

Thus ended a riot, which had continued about ſeven weeks, more formidable in appearance than in reality: it was a truly ſyſtematic riot; they committed no depredations on property; they obliged apprentices to be on board their reſpective ſhips at or before eight o'clock, leſt any diſorders committed by theſe boys ſhould be imputed to them; and in their nightly perambulations if they met with any parties of ſhip-owners, and their wives, or daughters, the order was immediately given, "Clear the way, ſailors, for the Ladies and Gentlemen."

On Nov. 20. an aſſociation met at the St Alban's tavern, London, for the purpoſe of preſerving liberty and property againſt republicans and levellers.—The following are ſome of the reſolutions which they have publiſhed.

"Conſidering the danger to which the public peace and order are expoſed by the circulating of miſchievous opinions, founded upon plauſible but falſe reaſoning; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the induſtry of clubs and ſocieties of various denominations, in many parts of the kingdom:

It appears to us, that it is now become the duty of all perſons who wiſh well to their native country, to endeavour, in their ſeveral neighbourhoods, to prevent the ſad effects of ſuch miſchievous induſtry; and that it would greatly tend

to promote theſe good endeavours, if ſocieties were formed in different parts of the kingdom, whoſe object ſhould be to ſupport the laws, to ſuppreſs ſeditious publications, and to defend our perſons and property againſt the innovations and depredations that ſeem to be threatened by thoſe who maintain the miſchievous opinions before alluded to.

Theſe opinions are conveyed in the terms—The Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament—and others of the like import; all of them, in the ſenſe impoſed on them, expreſſing ſentiments in direct oppoſition to the laws of this land, and ſome of them ſuch as are inconſiſtent with the well-being of ſociety under any laws whatſoever.

It appears to us, the tendency of theſe opinions is, that we are voluntarily to ſurrender every thing we now poſſeſs; our religion and our laws; our civil government and civil ſociety; and that we are to truſt to the formation of ſomething new, upon the principles of equality, and under the auſpices of ſpeculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the world; and it appears that the miſſionaries of this ſect are aiming at the overthrow of the preſent ſyſtem of government and ſociety, by infuſing into the minds of ignorant men cauſes of diſcontent adapted to their various ſtations; ſome of which cauſes are wholly imaginary, and the reſt are ſuch as inſeparably belong to civil life; have exiſted, and ever will exiſt, under all forms of government; cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied a hundred fold by the change propoſed."——

"We do hereby reſolve,

1*ſt*, That the perſons preſent at this meeting do become a ſociety for diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing ſeditious publications tending to diſturb the peace of this kingdom, and for ſupporting a due execution of the laws made for the protection of perſons and property.

2*dly*, That this ſociety do uſe its beſt endeavours occaſionally to explain thoſe topics of public diſcuſſion, which have been ſo perverted by evil deſigning men, and to ſhew, by irrefragable proofs, that they are not applicable to the ſtate of this country, that they can produce no good, and certainly muſt produce much evil.

3*dly*, That this ſociety will receive with great thanks all communications that ſhall be made to it for the above purpoſe.

4*thly*, That it be recommended to all thoſe who are friends to the eſtabliſhed law, and to peaceable ſociety, to form themſelves, in their different neighbourhoods, into ſimilar ſocieties, for promoting the ſame laudable purpoſes.

5*thly*, That this ſociety do meet at this place, or elſewhere, every Tueſday and Saturday.

6*thly*, That theſe conſiderations and reſolutions be printed in all the public papers, and otherwiſe circulated into all parts of the kingdom.

SCOTLAND.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to order a donation of 5000l. towards the building of the new College of Edinburgh.

The Merchant Company of Edinburgh have reſolved to increaſe the proviſion made for their widows and decayed members 50 per cent. The funds of the Company are in ſuch a proſperous ſtate as to authoriſe this meaſure.

Some time ſince, Mr Ramſay of Barnton gave the Britiſh Wool Society the free paſturage of Cramond Iſland, which is excellently adapted for the Shetland breed of ſheep.

The Earl of Moray has made an offer to the Society, of the Iſland of Inchcolm, for a ſimilar purpoſe.

In conſequence of the ſailors at Leith having refuſed to navigate the veſſels unleſs an advance of wages was given them, a meeting was held, Nov. 17. in order, if poſſible, to accommodate their differences:—Preſent, the Rt Hon. Thomas Elder, Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh; John Pringle, Sheriff-depute of the county of Edinburgh; William Douglas and Patrick Hadaway, Bailies of Leith, and a great number of the merchants and ſhipmaſters in Leith. The meeting agreed to give the following wages to the ſailors in Leith, viz.

1. The run to London, in place of Three Guineas, ſhall be 4l. 15s. in full of wages, loading or unloading.

2. The run to Hull, 3l. in full.

3. The run to Newcaſtle, 2l. 10s. in full.

4. All other runs to be in proportion to the above.

5. The monthly wages, in place of 30s. ſhall be 2l. and the ſailors to pay Greenwich money, and to be at liberty to pay poor's money to the Trinity Hoſpital or not as they pleaſe, but in caſe they

don't pay, to have no benefit from the funds of that houſe.

6. The wives at home to get 10s. of monthly money out of their huſbands wages.

7. That the monthly wages ſhall continue until the veſſels are diſcharged by the crew, in full of all demands.

The Right Hon. the Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh, the Hon. the Sheriff Depute of the county of Edinburgh, and the Magiſtrates of Leith, having ſettled the above wages with the unanimous concurrence and approbation of the merchants and ſhipmaſters in Leith, required and enjoined every ſailor in Leith immediately to return to his duty, and behave in the moſt peaceable manner, with certification, that if, after this date, they ſhould be found aſſembling in any tumultuous manner, or ſtop or impede any perſon whatever in the execution of his duty, they would be proſecuted and puniſhed in terms of law.

In our laſt, p. 516. we took notice of the numerous ſocieties which were formed for the purpoſes of political reform, ſtyling themſelves, Friends of the People. A general meeting of delegates from the ſocieties in and about Edinburgh was held in James's Court, Nov. 21. of whoſe proceedings the following account has been publiſhed in the newſpapers.

A Convention of Delegates from all the ſocieties of the Friends of the People in and about Edinburgh, convened Nov. 21. at Lawrie's Large Room, James's Court.

The meeting, upon ſeeing Capt. Johnſton (Chairman of the general Aſſociation) come into the room, was opened by an univerſal expreſſion of the wiſh of the delegates that he would take the chair; but the Captain, in a handſome addreſs, having ſtated his reaſons for declining the honour at preſent, and having propoſed Mr Hugh Bell, brewer, the convention unanimouſly appointed him Preſident.

It was alſo unanimouſly agreed, upon the motion of Mr Muir, that the thanks of the convention ſhould be returned to Capt. Johnſton, for his ſteady, ardent, and patriotic exertions in the cauſe of freedom, and in the aſſociation of its friends.

Col. M'Leod, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, having given the moſt explicit declaration of his unalterable determination to ſupport and proſecute the declared reſolutions of the Friends of the People for an equal repreſentation in parliament, and a frequent election of commiſſioners to parliament:—the delegates unanimouſly expreſſed their heartfelt pleaſure in his patriotiſm, and returned him their grateful thanks.

The convention afterwards elected William Skirving, Eſq; of Strathruddy, their ſecretary, and Mr James Denholm, writer in Edinburgh, to be his aſſiſtant.

The delegates having verified their powers, and elected committees of declaration, of organization, and of correſpondence, to meet on Friday evening, and report on the ſeveral matters to be laid before them againſt the next ſitting of the convention,—

Thomas Muir, Eſq; younger of Hunterſhill, roſe, and having fully ſtated his reaſons, moved, that this convention do agree to a general convention by delegates from all the aſſociations in Scotland, and write circular letters for the opinion of all the aſſociations relative to the ſame. The motion was univerſally embraced and applauded, and the thanks of the houſe voted to Mr Muir for his able aſſiſtance this evening, and for his important ſervices to the aſſociation at large.—Capt. Johnſton next moved, that the two following reſolutions be adopted; and the ſame having met with reiterated applauſes, were ordered to be publiſhed in all the Edinburgh and Glaſgow newſpapers.

Reſolved, 1ſt, That any perſon or perſons, belonging to the Aſſociated Friends of the People, if found guilty of rioting, or creating or aiding ſedition in the country, his name ſhall be expunged from the books of the ſociety.

Reſolved, 2dly, That any perſon, acting properly, who may be perſecuted and oppreſſed by the arm of power, be protected by the ſociety to which he belongs.

The thanks of the houſe were then unanimouſly expreſſed to their worthy Preſident, for the very able and orderly manner in which he had conducted the important buſineſs of the ſitting.

At the ſecond meeting, Nov. 28. Mr Muir was elected vice-preſident.

MARRIAGES.

April 17. At Maſulipatam, Major Edward Montagu, of the Bengal artillery, to Miſs Fleetwood.

Oct. At Glaſgow, Mr George Hamilton, merchant, to Miſs Margaret Bogle.

7. At Bourdeaux in France, the Earl of Shrewſbury, to Miſs Hoy, daughter of Mr Hoy, ſtationer in Dublin. His Lordſhip is premier Earl of England.

14. At

14. At Kilmurtry church, near Limmerick, in Ireland, the Rt Hon. and Rt Rev. Baron Glentworth, Bp of Limmerick, to the relict of General Crump.

Nov. 4. At Tinwald Downs, Francis Laſcelles, Eſq; of the King's own dragoons, to Miſs Buſhby, eldeſt daughter of John Buſhby, Eſq;

5. At Greenock, Mr John Kerr, merchant, to Miſs Janet Macgibbon, eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed Duncan Macgibbon, late bailie in Dunoon, Argyleſhire.

10. At Edinburgh, Major James Johnſton, in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice, to Miſs Margaret Blair, eldeſt daughter of the late John Blair, Eſq; of Balthyock.

10. At Bighouſe, George Sackville Sutherland, Eſq; of Uppat, to Miſs Jean Mackay, ſecond daughter of George Mackay, Eſq; of Bighouſe.

12. At Dumblane, James Buchanan, Eſq; of Tillychewan, to Mrs Jean Stewart, widow of Mr M. Gilleſpie, writer in Dumblane.

14. William Cunningham of Bonnington, Eſq; to Miſs Eliza G. King, daughter of James King, Eſq; of Drums, Renfrewſhire.

19. At Aberdeen, Mr Alexander Dingwall junior, to Miſs Abercrombie, daughter of John Abercrombie, Eſq;

19. At Edinburgh, Robert Monteath, Eſq; of Glaſgow, to Miſs Maria Earl, youngeſt daughter of Capt. Alexander Earl, of 11t dragoon-guards.

20. At Lauriſton, near Edinburgh, Mr Thomſon Bonar, merchant in Edinburgh, to Miſs Elizabeth Bell, daughter of Mr Andrew Bell, engraver in Edinburgh.

26. At manſe of Kirknewton, the Rev. Mr John Henderſon, miniſter at Queensferry, to Miſs Mary Mackenzie, reſiding at Kirknewton.

30. At Inchbrakie, Capt. Robert Stewart, junior of Fincaſtle, to Miſs Louiſa Maria Henrietta Graeme, third daughter of Patrick Graeme, Eſq; of Inchbrakie.

BIRTHS.

Sept. 19. At Londonderry, Ireland, Lady Mary Stewart, of a daughter.

27. At Wexford, Ireland, Mrs Napier, wife of Capt. Napier of 63d foot, of a ſon.

30. At London, the Ducheſs of Montroſe, of a daughter.

30. At Aſhgrove, Mrs Coul of Aſhgrove, of a ſon.

[illegible] Fetternear, Mrs Leſlie of Balquhain, of a ſon.

Oct. 4. Mrs Deans of Huntingdon, of a ſon.

4. At London, Lady Anne Fitzroy, of a daughter.

5. At Roſſie, Mrs Cheap of Roſſie, of a ſon.

7. At Critchill Houſe, near Salisbury, Lady Mary Anne Stewart, wife of Charles Stewart, Eſq; M. P. of a daughter.

9. At Edinburgh, the lady of Andrew Stewart, Eſq; M. P for Weymouth, of a ſon.

12. Mrs Baird of Newbyth, of a ſon.

14. At Spot, Mrs Hay of Lawfield, of a ſon.

18. At Streatham, Lady Deerhurſt, of a ſon.

21. At Richmond, Lady Viſcounteſs Valletort, of a daughter.

24. At Baberton, Mrs Chriſtie of Baberton, of a ſon.

24. A poor woman, of the name of Nicholds, wife of a ſhoemaker in Strutton-Ground, Weſtminſter, of two children. What is remarkable, on the 28th of January laſt ſhe was delivered of three children.

26. Lady Margaret Cameron, of a daughter.

28. The Lady of Sir William Fowlis, Bt, of Ingleby Manor, of a daughter.

31. At Balbairdy, Mrs Marjoribanks of Marjoribanks, of a ſon.

Nov. 5. At Edinburgh, Mrs Chriſtie of Durie, of a ſon.

16. At his Lordſhip's houſe Great Ruſſell-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, Lady Grantley, of a ſon, and heir.

DEATHS.

Lately, in India, in camp, Lieutenant Douglas, of 74th foot.

In India, Lieut Charles Cruickſhank, of the 4th battalion of native infantry on the Madras eſtabliſhment. He fell in an engagement in January laſt.

Lately, in camp, Lieut. James Mackenzie of the Bengal department, ſon of Thomas Mackenzie, Eſq; of Applecroſs.

Feb. At Midnapore, Bengal, Mr John Alexander, in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India Company.

May 31. Near to Bangalore, Lieut. John Aird, of the Eaſt-India Company's troops.

May 10. At Tanjore, Lieut. Alexander Brown, of the 19th battalion of coaſt infantry.

Aug. At Kingſton, Jamaica, Dr Alexander Moodie, ſurgeon to 62d foot.

24. At St James's, in the iſland of Jamaica, Mr James Leckie, ſon of William Leckie, Eſq; of Broich, Stirlingſhire.

Sept. 30. Thomas Cowſlade, Eſq; of Donnington, Berks. He eſtabliſhed at Donnington a manufactory of cotton that proves highly beneficial to the poor, and convenient to the gentry of that neighbourhood. One inſtance of his ingenuity was, diſcovering a method of converting the ſtalks of *bindweed* into *corderoy*; thus deriving public utility from a troubleſome weed.

Oct. 13. At Gibraltar, in his 16th year, the Hon. George Byng, only ſon of Lord Viſcount Torrington. He was ſerving as midſhipman on board his Majeſty's ſhip Aquilon, on the Mediterranean ſtation.

20. At

20. At Glaſgow, Mrs Bridget Balfour, widow of Dr Leechman, Principal of that univerſity.

23. At Winchfield, Hants, in her 72d year, the Rt Hon. Lady George Beauclerk.

28. At Anſthorpe, in Yorkſhire, John Smeaton, Eſq; F. R. S. the celebrated civil engineer. [vol. 53. 175.]

31. At Dundee, Mr Alexander Strachan, merchant.

Lately, at Croſby Garrat in Weſtmoreland, in his 52d year, Mr John Taylor, ſuppoſed to be the heavieſt man in the north of England. He weighed thirty-five ſtone.

At Severn Hall, Shropſhire, aged 107, Mr Hammond. He retained his faculties till within a ſhort period of his diſſolution, which was perfectly tranquil and eaſy. He was a ſtranger to the 'thouſand natural ſhocks that fleſh is heir to,' having never felt even the head ache.

At Berkſwell, near Coventry, in his 104th year, William Fulford, jerſey Comber, who within theſe few years followed his buſineſs, and who retained his faculties till within a few days of his death.

At Newcaſtle under Line, aged 105, Jane Cook.

Nov. 1. At Orchard, in his 82d year, John Elliot, Eſq; of Borthwickbrae.

1. At Kilmarnock, Mrs Corſon, wife of Mr Thomas Corſon, druggiſt.

1. In Skiddy's alms-houſe, in Cork, Catharine Parr, aged 103, great grand-daughter of Thomas Parr, of England.

3. At his houſe of New Blainſlie, John Gray, Eſq.

3. At the manſe of Coldinghame, the Rev. Mr John Jollie, miniſter of that pariſh.

3. At Leith, Mr Alexander Gowan ſenior, wood-merchant.

5. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs Mackay, widow of Col. Hugh Mackay, of Bighouſe.

6. At Longaſhton, in Somerſetſhire, aged 93, the Rev. Henry Canec, many years miniſter of the high church at Boſton, New England.

7. At Dumfries, Mrs Anne Mitchell, wife of John Mitchell, Eſq; collector of excile.

8. George White, Eſq; of Bankhead, late provoſt of Rutherglen.

10. At Peterhead, in his 72d year, Mr John Baird, merchant.

10. At Leven, Mr James Durie, ſchoolmaſter.

10. At Hinckley, in Leiceſterſhire, in his 69th year, Mr John Robinſon, originally a worſted manufacturer, but who for ſome years, having acquired a decent competency, had devoted the principal part of his time to ſcientific purſuits. Without the advantages of a liberal education, Mr Robinſon united in himſelf the various qualifications of Mechanic, Aſtronomer, Botaniſt, Natural Philoſopher, Electrician, Phyſician, Painter, and Poet.

11. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs Catharine Colvill.

12. At Leith, Mr George Roſs, ſon to Major Roſs of 14th foot.

12. At Glaſgow, Mrs Elizabeth Weir, widow of Gabriel Gray, Eſq; of Scottſtown.

13. At the manſe of Abdie, the Rev. Mr Thomas Millar, in the 28th year of his age, and the fifth of his miniſtry.

14. At Invernettie, James Moir, Eſq; of Invernettie.

15. At Melbury, in the county of Dorſet, in her 71ſt year, the Counteſs Dowager of Ilcheſter.

15. At his ſeat at Conholt, in Hampſhire, aged 93, Sir Sidney Meadows, Knight Marſhal of England.

17. At Edinburgh, Mrs Chriſtian Murray, daughter of the late Robert Murray of Glencarnock, Eſq; and widow of John Graham, Eſq of Duchray.

19. Mr Richard Akerman, many years keeper of Newgate.

19. At Eaſt Carlowrie, in his 90th year, Mr Archibald Stewart, late of Queensferry.

21. At Letham, near Haddington, John Buchan, Eſq; of Letham.

21. At Edinburgh, Mr James Inderwick, ſuperintendant of military roads and bridges.

22. The Rev. Mr William Peterkin, miniſter at Eccleſmachan, Linlithgowſhire.

23. At Weſtmill in Hertfordſhire, aged 91, the Rt Hon. Mary Lady Bellenden, widow of the late John Lord Bellenden, and grandmother to the preſent Lord.

23. At Kilwinning, in the 57th year of his age and 30th of his miniſtry, the Rev. Mr William Jamieſon, miniſter of the Aſſociate Congregation at that place.

24. At Bandirran, Dr Adam Drummond, of Gairdrum.

24. Aged 78, Mr Robert Smith ſenior, wright, and lately one of the magiſtrates of Glaſgow.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

Whitehall, Oct. 30. to grant the dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain to Sir Charles Gould, of Tredegar, in the county of Monmouth, Kt, Advocate General and Judge Marſhal of his Majeſty's forces, and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten.

Nov. 10. to appoint Simon Lucas, Eſq; to be Agent and Conſul General at Tripoli.

17. to appoint Ninian Home, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor of the iſland of Grenada and its dependencies, in America, in the room of Francis Gore, Eſq; deceaſed.

Commiſſion ſigned by his Majeſty for the army in Ireland; dated Sept. 29.

6th dragoon-guards: Maj. George Veſey, from 6th foot, to be Major, vice St Leger, exchanged.

War-

War-office, Nov. 10.

19th light dragoons: Eldeſt Capt. William Gilbert Child to be ſecond Major, without a troop, vice George Browne, deceaſed.

Coldſtream foot-guards: Hon. Capt. Edward Finch to be Captain, by purchaſe, vice Lord Henry Fitzgerald, who retires.

Staff. Maj. Francis Skelly, to be Deputy Quarter Maſter General to his Majeſty's forces in the Eaſt Indies, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army.

Office of ordnance, Nov. 16.

Royal regiment of artillery: Capt. George Fead to be Major, vice David Scott, deceaſed.

From other Papers.

Nov. 6. The magiſtrates of Stirling conferred the freedom of the community on the Rt Hon. Henry Dundas, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, as a mark of the high ſenſe they entertain of the many benefits he has conferred upon his country.—At ſame time, they alſo conferred the freedom on Robert Dundas, Eſq; younger of Melville.

7. The Senatus Academicus of the Univerſity of Edinburgh conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on the Earl of Hopetoun, as a teſtimony of their reſpect for his Lordſhip's character, and out of gratitude for his moſt munificent donations towards rebuilding their college.

14. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh elected the Rev. Dr George Baird, miniſter of the New Grayfriar's pariſh in that city, to be joint Profeſſor of Hebrew and Oriental languages in the univerſity of Edinburgh, along with Dr James Robertſon, who has long held that office. On the 15th he was admitted miniſter of the New Grayfriar's pariſh, to which he had formerly been preſented, in room of Mr John Scotland, deceaſed.

15. Dr James Adair, phyſician in Edinburgh, was admitted a Reſident Licentiate of the royal college of phyſicians of that city.

21. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, upon the reſignation of Robert Dick, Eſq; profeſſor of Civil law in the univerſity of Edinburgh, granted a new commiſſion to him and John Wilde, Eſq; Advocate, to be joint profeſſors, with the ſurvivance to the longeſt liver.

BANKRUPTS.

Nov. 1. Alexander Ferrier, weaver and manufacturer in Perth.

1. John Alſton, maſon and houſe-builder in Glaſgow.

2. John Wallace, horſe-dealer in Blacklaw, in the pariſh of Kilbride, and county of Lanark.

13. Alexander Johnſton, ſpirit-dealer in Stirling.

14. Alexander Simpſon, ſkinner at Silvermills.

29. John Barrowman, fleſher in Dunfermline.

Prices of Grain at Haddington, Nov. 30.

Wheat, 21 s. Barley, 20 s. Oats, 14 s. 6 d. Peaſe, 16 s. 6 d. Beans, 15 s. New Peaſe, 13 s. Old Wheat, 24 s. 6 d.

Edinburgh, Nov. 31. Oat-meal, 1s. ½d. Bear-meal, 10 d. Peaſe-meal, 8½ d.

Edinburgh Bill of Burials for November.

Burial places.	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total.*
Grayfriars and Lady Yeſter's,	24	33	57
Weſt-kirk, -	26	29	55
Canongate, -	7	10	17
Calton, - -	19	13	32
Total,	76	85	161

Age.			Diseases, &c.	N°
Between	Under	2 59	Accident — —	1
	2 &	5 16	Aged — —	13
	5 &	10 8	Aſthma — — —	11
	10 &	20 5	Bowelhive — —	18
	20 &	30 9	Childbed — —	4
	30 &	40 14	Chincough — —	11
	40 &	50 12	Conſumption —	44
	50 &	60 13	Convulſions — —	1
	60 &	70 13	Croop — — —	3
	70 &	80 6	Drowned — — —	1
	80 &	90 5	Fever — —	21
	90 &	100 1	Jaundice — — —	1
		—	Meaſles — —	2
		161	Smallpox — —	11
			Stillborn — —	11
			Suddenly — —	3
Increaſed 11			Teething — —	4
			Weakneſs — — —	1

PRICES OF STOCKS, November 13.

3 per cent. red. 89 ⅜ a ½.
3 per cent. conſ. 90¼ a 89¾ a 90.
4 per cent. 100 ¼ a ⅜.
5 per cent. 118¼ a ⅝.
Long Ann. 25 7-16ths.
Short Ann. 11 5-16ths a ⅜.
India Stock, 210½ a 210.
Engliſh Tickets, 16 l. 16 s.
Iriſh Tickets, 6 l. 9 s. a 12 s.

Nov. 29.

Bank Stock, 181 a 179½.
3 per cent. red. 80½ a 79½.
3 per cent. conſ. 81½ a 79½.
4 per cent. 94 a 93.
5 per cent. 112½ a ¾.
Long Ann. 23 a 22 ⅝.
Short Ann. 10¼ a 1-16th.
India Stock, 193 a 190.
India Ann. 79⅝.
India Bonds, 70.
New Navy Bills, 1½.
Engliſh Tickets, 16 l. 12 s.

THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

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PARLIAMENT. Session 3d.

THE parliament, in consequence of a royal proclamation, met Thursday, Dec. 13. The King opened the session with the following speech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

Having judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia of this kingdom, I have, in pursuance of the provisions of the law, called you together within the time limited for that purpose; and it is, on every account, a great satisfaction to me to meet you in Parliament at this conjuncture.

I should have been happy if I could have announced to you the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings which my subjects have derived from a state of tranquillity; but events have recently occurred which require our united vigilance and exertion, in order to preserve the advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.

The seditious practices which had been in a great measure checked by your firm and explicit declaration in the last session, and by the general concurrence of my people in the same sentiments, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity. A spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate.—The industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom,

kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a deſign to attempt the deſtruction of our happy conſtitution, and the ſubverſion of all order and government; and this deſign has evidently been purſued in connection and concert with perſons in foreign countries.

I have carefully obſerved a ſtrict neutrality in the preſent war on the continent, and have uniformly abſtained from any interference with reſpect to the internal affairs of France; but it is impoſſible for me to ſee, without the moſt ſerious uneaſineſs, the ſtrong and increaſing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite diſturbances in other countries, to diſregard the rights of neutral nations, and to purſue views of conqueſt and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States General (who have obſerved the ſame neutrality with myſelf) meaſures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the poſitive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties. Under all theſe circumſtances, I have felt it my indiſpenſable duty to have recourſe to theſe means of prevention and internal defence with which I am entruſted by law; and I have alſo thought it right to take ſteps for making ſome augmentation of my naval and military force, being perſuaded that theſe exertions are neceſſary in the preſent ſtate of affairs, and are beſt calculated, both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preſerving the bleſſings of peace.

Nothing will be neglected on my part that can contribute to that important object conſiſtently with the ſecurity of my kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by intereſt and honour to fulfil.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and I have no doubt that you will be ready to make a due proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

You will certainly join with me in lamenting any neceſſity for extraordinary expences which may for a time prevent the application of additional ſums beyond thoſe which are already annually appropriated to the reduction of the public debt, or retard the relief which my ſubjects might have derived from a further diminution of taxes: but I am confident you will feel that thoſe great ends will ultimately be beſt promoted by ſuch exertions as are neceſſary for our preſent and future ſafety and tranquillity; and it is a great conſolation to me to reflect, that you will find ample reſources for effectually defraying the expence of vigorous preparations, from the exceſs of the actual revenue beyond the ordinary expenditure.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have great pleaſure in acquainting you, that the brilliant ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms in India, under the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, have led to the termination of the war by an advantageous and honourable peace, the terms of which are peculiarly ſatisfactory to me, from their tendency to ſecure the future tranquillity of the Britiſh dominions in that part of the world.

Your attention will now naturally be directed to ſuch meaſures for the future government of thoſe valuable poſſeſſions, as ſhall appear, from experience and full conſideration, moſt likely to provide for their internal proſperity, and to ſecure the important advantages which may be derived from thence, to the commerce and revenue of this country.

I am perſuaded that it will be the object of your immediate conſideration to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary under the preſent circumſtances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repreſſing every attempt to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of theſe kingdoms.

You will be ſenſible how much depends on the reſult of your deliberations, and your uniform conduct is the beſt pledge that nothing will be wanting on your part which can contribute to the preſent ſecurity and permanent advantage of the country.

I retain a deep and unalterable ſenſe of the repeated proofs which I have received of your cordial and affectionate attachment to me; and I place an entire reliance on the continuance of thoſe ſentiments, as well as on your firm determination to defend and maintain that conſtitution which has ſo long protected the liberties and promoted the happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects.

In endeavouring to preſerve and to tranſmit to poſterity the inеſtimable bleſſings which, under the favour of Providence, you have yourſelves experienced, you may be aſſured of my zealous and cordial co-operation; and our joint

joint efforts will, I doubt not, be rendered completely effectual, by the decided ſupport of a free and loyal people."

In the Houſe of Peers, Lord Hardwicke moved, and Lord Walſingham ſeconded the addreſs.

The Duke of Norfolk had his doubts whether the militia had been legally embodied; for the act expreſsly inveſted his Majeſty with that power only in caſes of actual invaſion, or internal inſurrections. Now, the firſt was not pretended to have been dreaded; and, as he was totally ignorant of the latter having taken place, he wiſhed to know from adminiſtration where they had detected it: for an inſurrection could not be a ſecret; and yet he thought it was very neceſſary for them to prove the fact to juſtify their conduct.

The Marquis of Lanſdown entered into a long detail of the modes which had hitherto been purſued by all adminiſtrations under ſimilar circumſtances, and from which he endeavoured to draw a general blame upon adminiſtration. He deprecated the idea of going to war with France upon the queſtion of opening the Scheldt, conceiving we had nothing to do with the buſineſs; and that, if we were bound by treaty, the treaty was a bad one; and, therefore, the ſooner we gave it up the better. His Lordſhip then alluded to the petition of the Catholics in Ireland, the complaints of thoſe who were not repreſented in parliament, and upon their being obliged to pay taxes to ſupport a plurality of places: and thence he drew a concluſion, that, if we did go to war, an unanimity was neceſſary; and there would be no way ſo certain to procure that unanimity as by liſtening to the complaints of the people; and, if they were juſt, to redreſs them.

Lord Grenville combated the arguments of the Noble Marquis, and then took a review of the neceſſity there was for the meaſures which had been taken. If mobs and tumults, which the civil power had been unable to check without the interference of the military, were inſurrections, they had taken place in ſeveral towns: but this was not all; a ſpirit of diſcontent had ſhewn itſelf among a number of wicked and deſigning men, and who, he was ſorry to ſay, were ſpirited up by the countenance they received; and he was more ſorry to find there was an actual neceſſity to ſpeak plainly out, for, in his hand, he held no leſs than ten papers of a treaſonable nature, which had been tranſmitted to the National Convention of France, in the laſt month of November only, from different clubs held in this kingdom. His Lordſhip then read ſeveral extracts from theſe papers; one of which, after complaining of the oppreſſions they laboured under in this country, and complimenting the Republic of France, ſtated, there were 5000 citizens ready to enforce the Rights of Man; others ſtated their diſſatisfaction with the ruling powers, which they called an Ariſtocracy; and others, which even expreſſed an hope there would ſhortly be a National Convention in this kingdom. The French, he ſaid, had infringed upon our allies by demanding the opening of the Scheldt. Now, if this point was carried, it would poſſibly enable them to extend their principles, overturn the United States, eſtabliſh a ſimilar government to their own, and thus add them to their territories. To prevent this, was certainly of the greateſt importance to England; and, as they had attacked our allies, it was neceſſary to prove we held a reſpect for treaties, and ſhould abide by them.

The Duke of Clarence perfectly coincided with the noble Secretary of State in all the ſentiments which he had expreſſed. For his own part, he had made an offer of his ſervices in his profeſſional line, in which, he thought, he could be moſt beneficial to his country. To him it alſo appeared, that it was of little ſignification whether the opening of the Scheldt was of any conſequence to us: it was ſufficient for our interference, if the Dutch held it to be ſo to them; for, if the French ſhould overturn that government, and afterwards have a deſign upon ours, we might in that caſe meet with the Dutch fleet as enemies; whereas, in the preſent, we ſhould act with them as friends.

Lord Stormont highly approved the conduct of miniſters in the preſent inſtance.

Lord Stanhope declared himſelf in favour of the Britiſh Conſtitution, becauſe it poſſeſſed the power of correcting itſelf. He thought it the beſt that could be for England, but not calculated either for France or America. He ſaw no difference between an attempt to interfere in the internal legiſlation of Poland, France, or the Netherlands; and the ſame principles that would lead him to rejoice at

any one being diſcomfited who might preſume to attempt to interfere with that of England, made him rejoice at the defeat of Auſtria in their attempts upon France.

Lords Fitzwilliam, Carliſle, and Townſhend ſupported the addreſs. Lord Rawdon was againſt it.

An amendment propoſed by Lord Lanſdown was negatived, and the addreſs carried without a diviſion.

In the Houſe of Commons, Mr Jekyll begged their attention on a queſtion of the greateſt importance relative to their privileges, and objected to the ſudden and extraordinary manner of aſſembling the parliament.

Mr Dundas ſaid, that the calling out the militia, which his Majeſty had unqueſtionably the right to do, was a ſufficient and neceſſary foundation for aſſembling parliament. However, miniſters would meet the queſtion whenever it ſhould be properly propoſed.

The Lord Mayor moved the addreſs, which he would not have preſumed to have done had it not been on account of the high and reſpectable ſituation he held among his fellow citizens. The proclamation iſſued in May laſt had in a conſiderable degree checked the progreſs of ſedition; but he lamented that of late it had been renewed with increaſed activity. Poiſonous and wicked pamphlets were continued in circulation to alienate the minds of the people from their attachment to the King, and from their love to the Conſtitution; and thoſe practices might not poſſibly be done away by the firſt correction, for the authors were evidently bent upon the ſubverſion of the government; the prudence then of his Majeſty's miniſters muſt be admitted in the meaſures they had adopted for prevention. In looking out of the kingdom, the principal object to which his attention was drawn, was the ſituation of the States General, with whom we were bound by treaties which had met the approbation of that Houſe and likewiſe of the country: meaſures of prevention had alſo been adopted to reſiſt any attempt to deſtroy them; and if thoſe meaſures ſhould prove ſucceſsful not only in preventing internal diſorders, but alſo operate ſucceſsfully abroad, the Houſe would ſurely have reaſon to be thankful to his Majeſty for his parental care. He congratulated the Houſe on the ſurplus of the revenue being likely to anſwer the vigorous preparations neceſſary, without adding to the burdens of the people; and noticed ſhortly the ſucceſſes of our arms in the Eaſt Indies.

Mr Wallace ſeconded the motion.

Mr Fox expreſſed his diſapprobation *in toto* of the meaſures of government. Looking on the King's ſpeech ſolely as the production of the miniſter, he ſhould not heſitate to ſay, that all the aſſertions in it were falſe; and not only ſo, but with the knowledge of thoſe who made them. He ſcouted the idea of the alledged pretence for calling out the militia; namely, an *inſurrection*. When and where did it exiſt? he defied them to prove it. The petty tumults in the north could not be called ſo, they were quelled in a moment. The conſtitution was idolized by almoſt the whole nation: every hour evinced it; but then, like all human inſtitutions, it had its imperfections. Were theſe remedied, the plea of diſcontent muſt ceaſe, and ſuch ought to be the policy of government. Mr Fox ſtated this to be the moſt momentous criſis he had ever ſeen or read of in the hiſtory of this country, a criſis momentous to all nations and to all men.

As to the affairs of France, no public event, out of this country, ever gave him ſuch a depreſſion, as when the Duke of Brunſwick, after having publiſhed a manifeſto diſgraceful in a civilized country, and after entering a country in which he had no right, appeared to be upon the point of fulfilling all the threats of that publication. Mr Fox, with much earneſtneſs, thanked God, that ſuch an event had not taken place: but did it reſult from thence, that he was connected with the French government?

"Whenever the time ſhall come," ſaid Mr Fox, "when a man ſhall not dare to ſay, he prefers a republican form of government, or that he prefers a deſpotic form of government; if either of theſe motions equally oppoſite to our conſtitution, are his, and he dares not utter them, from that time I date the extinction of our conſtitution." Was it to be maintained that no diſcuſſions concerning government were to take place in this country; in this country, whoſe conſtitution was not formed at once, but by the experience and continual inquiries of our anceſtors? After ſo many of our bleſſings had reſulted from gradual improvement, was it to be ſaid, "Now we have had enough of improvement. Now we ſtop. Our anceſtors, whoſe wiſdom

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we occaſionally praiſe, improved the conſtitution as experience taught them, but we cannot need improvement?" Would man, "clad in a little brief authority," with the imperfections of his views and underſtanding, preſume to eſteem his labours perfect?

As to a war with France, there is none in which we could find ſo much riſk, and ſo little chance of profit. He deſired to know, whether adminiſtration had done every thing poſſible to avoid it? whether, as when Spain offered us a groſs inſult in 1789, they had begun to negotiate? If it was ſaid, that we had no miniſter in Paris, why had we not? Was this country ſo hoſtile to republics, that upon ſuch a *punctilio* every thing was to be loſt? This was the ſure mode to ripen all diſcontents. He had ſome difficulty to believe, that the Dutch required our aſſiſtance; and as to *punctilios*, he would recommend to miniſters in one inſtance the example of the old government of France. In 1786, when the Emperor threatened to open the Scheldt, did France, then the ally of Holland, declare war with the houſe of Auſtria? did ſhe not negotiate, and by that means ſave the republic? "Why" ſays Mr Fox, "have not we ſo interfered? Becauſe forſooth France is an unanointed republic! Oh miſerable, infatuated Frenchmen! Oh lame and inconſiderate politicians! Why, inſtead of breaking the holy viol of Rheims, why did you not pour ſome of the ſacred oil on the heads of your executive council, that the pride of ſtates might not be forced to plunge themſelves and you into the horrors of war, rather than be contaminated by your acquaintance!"

In Ireland miniſters knew that there was danger, and there they dare not declare it; here they knew there was ſafety, and, therefore, they had the courage to ſtate danger. There was not, indeed, ſuch danger as might be ſuppoſed, for nothing more was to be expected, than that miniſters would be obliged to make conceſſions there, and give the Catholics the rights of citizens. Mr Fox mentioned the convention of Catholics in terms of great reſpect.

Alluding again to France, he obſerved, that when the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia ſeemed likely to take poſſeſſion of that country, miniſters here ſhewed no alarm, though by ſuch a conqueſt the greateſt maritime power in Europe, next to our own, would have been added to the greateſt military force, and the balance of power plainly enough gone for ever. When, happily, on the 30th of September, the Duke of Brunſwick began his ever memorable retreat from France, and M. Dumourier promiſed to winter in Bruſſels, miniſters had then no foreſight about Holland.——They thought doubtleſs that military diſcipline muſt prevail againſt armies deſcribed to be ſcarcely fed, clothed, or commanded; but, thank God, diſcipline has been found weak when oppoſed to the animated love of liberty. The glorious battle of Jemappe did not even induce miniſters to feel any of the preſent alarm of Holland. The battle happened on the 6th of November; on the 16th they prorogued the Parliament. It appeared, that the preſent miniſters had emulated thoſe of Charles II. and were now raiſing an alarm, on account of ſuppoſed republican principles, as great as had been before inſtigated by the *Popiſh plot*. Republican principles were odious, as applied to England, and principles of levelling and deſtruction of property were deteſtable every where. But where were the bodies of men in this country to whom they could be applied? Mr Fox concluded, by moving the following amendment: "To expreſs to his Majeſty our moſt zealous attachment to the excellent conſtitution of this free country; our ſenſe of the invaluable bleſſings which we derive from it, and our unſhaken determination to maintain and preſerve it; to aſſure his Majeſty that, uniting with all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and in theſe ſentiments of loyalty to the throne and attachment to the conſtitution, we feel in common with them the deepeſt anxiety and concern, when we ſee thoſe meaſures adopted by the executive government, which the law authoriſes only in caſe of inſurrection within this realm. That his Majeſty's faithful Commons, aſſembled in a manner new and alarming to the country, think it their firſt duty, and will make it their firſt buſineſs, to inform themſelves of the cauſe of this meaſure, being equally zealous to enforce a due obedience to the laws on the one hand, and a faithful execution of them on the other."

Mr Sheridan ſeconded the amendment.

Mr Wyndham ſaid he was ſorry to be under the neceſſity of differing in opi-

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nion with his Hon. Friend. Although no one great inſtance could be produced of an inſurrection, yet when the number of circumſtances and facts, in which it would appear that meaſures inimical to government were agitated, ſhould be added together, they would fully amount to what might be called an inſurrection. He gave his approbation to that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech which threw out the idea of going to war with France. He ſaid, that the people of that country, elated with their ſucceſſes, might come to this country, on the ſame pretext which made them invade Germany, Sardinia, Rome, Genoa, and Geneva, the pretext of giving liberty to all mankind. This would render it abſolutely neceſſary for this country to anticipate ſuch a ſtep, and fruſtrate the machinations of the French faction who were ready to unite them. Thinking then there were real grounds for alarms, he thought the meaſure of embodying the militia, and calling a meeting of parliament, perfectly right and neceſſary.

Mr Secretary Dundas conſidered the preſent meeting of parliament as peculiarly fortunate at this period, by affording gentlemen of all deſcriptions and opinions upon other occaſions, the preſent opportunity of declaring their unanimous and firm ſupport of our preſent happy and glorious conſtitution, and by thus letting ſuch determination go abroad into the world, convince our enemies, be they whom they would, of the futility of their expectations. But if he was thus pleaſed upon one account, he was no leſs ſurpriſed at what had fallen from a Rt Hon. Gentleman, (Mr Fox), who had declared that he cared not what opinions were propagated, becauſe truth was always ſure to be triumphant. If this opinion were well founded, what became of the pains and penalties which were annexed to the ſupporters of the right of the Pretender to the crown of theſe realms; or why was it that the Rt Hon. Gentleman himſelf had agreed to, nay, urged the proſecution of a printer, who had inſerted in a newſpaper, a libel upon that Houſe during the trial of Mr Haſtings? nay, France herſelf, that land of promiſe with regard to liberty, has denounced with death ſuch as ſhall ever ſpeak of royalty. If this be true, ſhall not the other branches of the legiſlature be preſerved equally with that Houſe from the obloquy and inſolence of libellers! It has been ſaid, that the beſt way of preventing grievances was to remedy them; be it ſo; but do not look on tamely and ſee the conſtitution attacked with impunity, where ſuch attacks are notorious. From the ſituation he had the honour to fill, he had opportunities of learning many particulars, and he knew of clubs where their *profeſſed objects* were purely conſtitutional, and yet, when a petition to parliament had been propoſed, it was objected to, on the ground that they were *the people*; that it was beneath their dignity, and that they had but to will and have it ſo – It was true, that in the upper and middle claſſes of life no apprehenſion was to be entertained, they were not to be corrupted, their good ſenſe was not to be depraved; it was among the loweſt orders alone, led on by deſigning demagogues, that danger was to be apprehended; it was among them that equality was preached, as leading to an equal participation in legiſlation and government, and among ſome of them going ſo far as to diſcuſs an equal diſtribution of property. He next defended adminiſtration from the charge of having cauſed an alarm through the country by the proclamation.—This charge implied a manifeſt contradiction; the miniſtry muſt be an odd ſet of mortals; one time they are repreſented as ſo contemptible as neither to deſerve nor poſſeſs the confidence of the people,—at another, as ſtanding ſo high in public eſtimation as to hold public opinion in their power, and influencing it as they pleaſed or as it ſuited them; but he only aſked of that Houſe, to judge of them and of the country at large, to decide upon the preſent occaſion by the individual feelings and knowledge of each man's breaſt; to thoſe feelings and that knowledge he appealed whether there did not exiſt very ſerious alarms before any of the preſent ſteps had been taken by adminiſtration. In defence of the ſpeech, the Hon. Secretary ſtated what he deemed *inſurrection*, by a recapitulation of the various tumults which have taken place in different parts of Great Britain, particularly at Dundee, where they planted the tree of liberty, and which he affirmed juſtified them in calling the militia, and conſequently parliament together, not only within the letter, but the ſpirit of the law on that ſubject. With regard to the conduct of France, he ſtated at large the conduct of the country as evincing a reſtleſs ambi-

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